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MEMOIRS

OF THE

REV. RICHARD WHATCOAT,

LATE BISHOP

OF THE

METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

BY WILLIAM PHŒBUS, M.D.

“Smitten friends are angels sent on errands full of love;
For us they languish, and for us they die:
And shall they languish, shall they die in vain?
Ungrateful, shall we grieve their hov’ring shades,
Which wait the revolution in our heart?
Shall we disdain their silent, soft address,
Their posthumous advice, and pious prayer?” . . . *Young.*

New-York:

PUBLISHED BY JOSEPH ALLEN,
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1828.

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Southern District of New-York, ss.

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the eighteenth day of April, A. D. 1826, in the fifty-first year of the Independence of the United States of America, **WILLIAM PHŒBUS**, of the said District, hath deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as proprietor, in the words following, to wit:

"Memoirs of the Rev Richard Whatcoat, Late Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. By William Phœbus, M.D.

'Smitten friends are angels sent on errands full of love;
For us they languish, and for us they die:
And shall they languish, shall they die in vain?
Ungrateful, shall we grieve their hov'ring shades,
Which wait the revolution in our heart?
Shall we disdain their silent, soft address;
Their posthumous advice, and pious prayer?... Young.'

In conformity to the Act of Congress of the United States, entitled "An Act for the encouragement of Learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the time therein mentioned." And also to an Act, entitled "An Act, supplementary to an Act, entitled an Act for the encouragement of Learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned, and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints."

FREDERICK I. BETTS,
Clerk of the Southern District of New-York.

*To the Superintendent of the Methodist
Episcopal Church.*

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR,

I AM much indebted to you for the care and good counsel you have favoured me with for more than twenty years. All the compensation I can render you is, to ask you to accept some Memoirs of your late friend and brother, Bishop WHATCOAT :—a man universally respected by all who knew him ;—useful while he was among us ; and, though now with us no more on earth, his experience and active life say “follow me.”

While I sit among his papers, I am like one on the top of a mountain, in view of two armies,—one already victorious, and the other going on from one victory to another.—The Bible being my glass, I am able to see by what means my precursor made such progress ; namely, by order and heavenly influence.

The sacred Scriptures inform me of the progress the student made under the direc-

tion of the holy Prophet Samuel. By reading the poetry of David, I am constrained to say—"Oh, what an age of golden days!"—On turning to the lectures delivered by David's Lord, and David's Son, I perceive the proficiency the fishermen made in Christ's school, by the wisdom and zeal he inspired, so as to make them fishers of men, and the order they pursued in their holy conference for many years, while they were engaged in sowing precious seed and in saving souls from ruin, according to the Acts of the Apostles. After having admired the glorious days of the apostles, next I turn to the martyrs in different ages of the world, and confessors of different countries, with the holy influence attending their words in a manner astonishing to the world. There is a connection with the word, the spirit, and the bride; and this connection is to be continued till the end of the world.

I now look over the history of my own times, the eighteenth century, (an age of wonders: the fragments saved by Bishop Whatcoat, proving it to be no less,) and the disinterested benevolence of the Oxford Methodists; especially of that wonderful man John Wesley, late Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, who has been under Christ, the apostle to our once heathen, but now happy country—once a wilderness, but now as the

eden of the world; the habitation of dragons, but now as the garden of the Lord, made so to us in a special manner, through the men sent by the patriarch of my day, from the eastern to the western world, with that compact you now hold sacred in your hand, having received a charge not to mend, but to keep it; which has been the means of guiding many in the unity of the spirit, and the bond of peace. Therein every member of the community can read his duty, and his privileges are pointed out distinctly; so that there need be no mistake; or if any misconstruction, or undue application be made, it is presently apprehended. If any alteration should seem to be necessary, it must be from want of understanding, or in departing from the rule. Then, all that is requisite will be, to turn back to first principles, which are so self-evident, and expressed in language so appropriate to the divinity of the subject, that it must ever remain a monument of the wisdom of the man who made it, and the Conference which rendered it permanent by a fixed constitution. The Methodist Episcopal Church is *one*;—is truly federal; in all its stations and circuits it exhibits this same feature: as a wheel within a wheel. It began so, and has continued so, to my great joy, these fifty years. No annual or general Conference can alter it. without such a de-

parture as would be considered a breach of trust.

It has been lately asserted, that Mr. Wesley appointed Richard Whatcoat a joint superintendent with Mr. Asbury. If it were so, I never heard of it till very recently; neither do any of his documents hint any thing like it. I have in his journal very minute circumstances mentioned, and, perhaps, every letter he ever received from Mr. Wesley; but nothing like such an appointment is mentioned directly or indirectly. If Mr. Wesley had done so, it would have been out of his way of doing things. I have never found in the Minutes of Conference that HE ever appointed more assistants to one circuit than *one*: one rector being sufficient to one parish, two would be more than enough. One head in a federal compact; that such was the opinion of Mr. Wesley, is evident from all his appointments and stations; also of Dr. Coke, Mr. Asbury, and Mr. Whatcoat,—whose place I am glad to say you have filled by order of Providence and Grace, and still do fill, to the joy of thousands.

Your obedient Servant,

THE AUTHOR.

New-York, April, 1828.

Richard Whatcoat, to the Bishops, Ministers, Preachers, and Brethren of the Methodist Episcopal Church, greeting :

WHEREAS the Lord, in great mercy, has preserved my life these sixty-eight years, and providentially led me through various parts of Europe and America—for some time past it has been impressed on my mind, to leave a few traces of my experience and travels, as a grateful acknowledgment of the unmerited mercies and favours I have received from my gracious God, and the people among whom I have sojourned. However I may have failed in judgment or practice, this I can say with cheerfulness, I have followed with sincerity the way that appeared to me to be right; and I hope through the all-prevailing merits and mediation of Christ my Saviour, shortly to arrive where all the ship's company meet, and glory crowns what grace begun.

If this short history meets with your approbation, I wish it may be published, and a copy or the manuscript sent to the Book-Stewart and Committee, at the new chapel, City Road, London, as my last token of respect to my brethren, kinsfolk, and countrymen in Europe.



EXPERIENCE AND TRAVELS
OF THE
REV. RICHARD WHATCOAT.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

My father and mother, Charles and Mary Whatcoat, were members of the Established Church. The Rev. Samuel Taylor, minister of the parish, was a converted man; and besides preaching regularly twice on the Lord's day, frequently held meetings in his parsonage house, and other places. I believe my mother walked in the form, and enjoyed the power of godliness, more than thirty years, and died in the triumph of faith in the year 1771. My father died when I was young, but not without hope. He left a widow, with two sons, and three daughters; the children were all brought under a wonderful work of grace about the same time of life, beginning with the eldest, and so down to the youngest.

I was born the twenty-third of February, 1736, in the parish of Quinton, Gloucestershire, England. As my father left but a small estate, to support his rising family, my mother judged it best to put the boys to trades; so that when I was thirteen years old, I was bound an apprentice to Mr. Joseph Jones, then living in Birmingham, Warwickshire. Soon after, he removed to Darlaston, in Staffordshire, where I served the greatest part of my apprenticeship. At

the age of twenty-one, when I had served my time, I removed to Wednesbury, into a family where nothing was wanting but the fear of God. Therefore, I soon moved to another house, where the fear of God rested, and where I found the Christian's God, to the unspeakable comfort of my soul.

From the earliest period I can remember, I had the fear of God, so as to keep me from the gross sins of the age; but in July, 1758, when I was about twenty-one years and five months old, I attended Methodist preaching regularly, and soon found the word was made light and power to my soul; for when the preacher was describing the fall of man, I thought he spoke as if he had known every thing that was in my heart. When he described the nature of faith, I was conscious I had it not; and though I believed all the Scriptures to be of God, yet I had not the marks of a Christian believer: and I was convinced, that if I died in the state, wherein I then was, I should be miserable for ever. Yet I could not conceive how I, that had lived so sober a life, could be the chief of sinners. But this was not long; for I no sooner discovered the spirituality of the law, and the enmity that was in my heart against God, than I could heartily agree to it. The thoughts of death and judgment now struck me with terrible fear. I had a keen apprehension of the wrath of God, and of the fiery indignation due to sinners: so that I could have wished myself to be annihilated, or to be the vilest creature, if I could but escape judgment.

In this state I was, when one told me, "I know, God, for Christ's sake, has forgiven all my past sins: and the Spirit itself beareth witness with our Spirit, that we are the children of God." This gave me great encouragement. And I determined never to rest until I had a testimony in myself, that *my* sins.

also were forgiven. But in the mean time, such was the darkness I was in, such my consciousness of guilt, and the just displeasure of the Almighty God, that I could find no rest, day or night, either for body or soul : so that life was a burden ; and I became regardless of all things under the sun. And many discouraging thoughts were put into my mind, as, " Many are called ; but few chosen."—" Hath not the potter power over the clay, to make one vessel to honour, and another to dishonour ?"—From which it was suggested to me, that I was made to dishonour, and so I must inevitably perish.

On the third of September, 1758, being overwhelmed with guilt and fear, as I was reading, it was, as if one whispered to me, " Thou hadst better read no more ; for the more thou readest, the more thou wilt know. And he that knoweth his Lord's will and doeth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes." I paused a little, and then resolved, let the consequences be what they may, I will proceed. When I came to those words, " The Spirit itself beareth witness with our Spirit, that we are the children of God," as I fixed my eyes upon them, in a moment, my darkness was removed, and the Spirit did bear witness with my Spirit, that I was a child of God. In the same instant I was filled with unspeakable peace and joy in believing : all fear of death, judgment, and hell, suddenly vanished. Before this, I was kept awake by anguish and fear ; so that I could not get an hour's sound sleep in a night. Now I wanted no sleep, being abundantly refreshed by contemplating the rich display of God's mercy, in adopting so unworthy a creature as me, to be an heir of the kingdom of heaven !

This peace and joy continued about three weeks :

after which it was suggested to me, "Hast thou not deceived thyself? Is it not presumption, to think thou art a child of God? But if thou art, thou wilt soon fall away: thou wilt not endure to the end." This threw me into great heaviness: but it did not continue long. For as I gave myself unto prayer, and to reading, and hearing the word of God at all opportunities, my evidence became clearer and clearer; my faith and love stronger and stronger: and I found the accomplishment of that promise, "They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength."

Yet I soon found, that though I was justified freely, yet I was not wholly sanctified. This brought me into a deep concern, and confirmed my resolution, to admit of no peace nor truce with the evils which I still found in my heart. I was sensible both that they hindered me at present in all my holy exercises, and that I could not enter into the joy of my Lord, unless they were all rooted out. These considerations led me to consider more attentively the exceeding great and precious promises, whereby we may escape the corruption that is in the world, and be made partakers of the divine nature. I was much confirmed in my hope of their accomplishment, by frequently hearing Mr. Mather speak freely upon the subject. I saw it was the mere gift of God; and, consequently, to be received by faith. And after many sharp and painful conflicts, and many gracious visitations also, on the 28th of March, 1761, my soul was drawn out and engaged in a manner it never was before. Suddenly I was stripped of all but love. Now all was love, and prayer, and praise. And in this happy state, "rejoicing evermore, and in every thing giving thanks," I continued for some years, with

little intermission or abatement ; wanting nothing for soul or body, more than I received from day to day. For about eight or nine years I exercised as a band-leader, class leader, and steward, of the society in Wednesbury, Staffordshire. In the fall of the year 1766, I took a journey to the city of London, hoping to make some improvement : I did so, and was soon seized with a violent intermittent fever, which brought me very low, and pressed very hard upon me for about six months, until I returned into the country again.

About the latter end of 1767, I began to hold religious meetings in the country places adjacent, and exhort and preach to the people : and I found such encouragement therein, that I resolved to give myself wholly to the work of the ministry. Therefore, about July 1769, I informed Mr. John Pawson, the assistant preacher, of my intention to join the travelling connection, if he and the Conference thought proper. From Leeds he wrote, to let me know, that he had proposed me at the Conference, and that I was accepted as a probationer, and stationed on Oxford circuit. Having settled my temporal affairs, with all the expedition I could, I went into the circuit, where I travelled until about Christmas, and then removed to Bedford circuit.

In August, 1770, I attended the Conference held at London, and was appointed to Bedford circuit again ; where I laboured in peace and harmony.

At the Conference held in Bristol, 1771, I was appointed for Inniskillen circuit, in the north of Ireland. Now my trials came on, for I had great aversion to sea voyages. But what troubled me most, was, when I called to see my dear old mother, to find that she was very far advanced in a dropsy. I stayed with her for a fortnight, and then took my

final farewell of her, until we should meet where congregations never break up, and parting is no more: she knew and loved the work I was engaged in; and therefore gave me up willingly. She lived a few weeks after, and then died in the triumph of faith.

This circuit took us eight weeks to go through it; we commonly preached two or three times a day, besides meeting the societies and visiting the sick. By this year's labours and sufferings, my strength was exhausted; but what sweetened labour, and made affliction tolerable, was, a blessed revival; for we had nearly three hundred souls turned to the Lord this year; most of whom found "redemption in the blood of Christ, the forgiveness of sins."

When I was appointed for Armah circuit, in the year 1772, before I could reach that appointment, I was taken with an entire loss of appetite, a violent bleeding at the nose, and profuse night sweats, so that my flesh was consumed from my bones, and my eyes sunk in my head; my sight also failed me, so that I could not distinguish my most intimate acquaintance at the breadth of a room. I was confined by this affliction twelve weeks, with that dear family of Armstrong's, at Sydare—after which I removed into Armah circuit. But going out before I had sufficiently recovered my strength, the cold seized upon me, and caused such a humour to settle in my legs, that for some time I could not set my feet to the ground. But my mind being set upon my work, I little regarded the pain of my body, so long as I was able to sit on my horse, or stand and speak to the people. Therefore, in about a fortnight, I went on my circuit again: but in two weeks more, the humour returned so violently, that I was stopped from travelling eight weeks more. But these afflictions were all sweetened by the peace of God which I enjoyed, and the ex-

ceeding kindness of my friends who nursed and comforted me in all my afflictions. May the gracious and merciful Giver of every good and perfect gift remember them and theirs for good!

Although for some time my life was despaired of, yet, by the kind providence and blessing of Almighty God, I was restored to a better state of health than I had enjoyed for some years past: the secondary means of my restoration was a course of diet, (for I lived on fresh diet only) riding, change of air, and a respite from preaching, with the use of the cold bath.

I attended a Conference Mr. Wesley held in Dublin, and after that, one held in London, after which I rode to Pembroke, in Wales, where I was appointed to labour for the year 1773: this was an easy, agreeable, and profitable station to me, and I trust to the people also; for Mr. Charles Boon and I spent this year very agreeably among a few loving people.

At the Conference held in Bristol, August, 1774, I was appointed to Brecknock circuit, in Wales. Here I laboured two years with Stephen Proctor and John Broadbent. Some fruit appeared, but nothing great.

August 1776, I attended the Conference held in London, and was appointed to Launceston circuit, in Cornwall. Here our congregations and societies were large and lively.

At the Conference which was held at Bristol, August 1777, I was appointed to St. Austle circuit, in Cornwall; here my faith and patience were strongly exercised; for I felt so sensibly for some disorderly members at Plymouth Dock, that my poor heart was almost broke; but I called upon the Lord, and he proportioned strength according to my day.

I attended the Conference held at Leeds, August 1778, and was appointed to Salisbury circuit, in Wiltshire. Here I felt agreeably united with the people.

We had some old faithful members, who were ornaments to their Christian profession ; here I laboured two years.

I attended the Conference held in Bristol, August 1780, and was appointed to Northampton circuit. After ten years absence, I had the pleasure of visiting some of my old friends, with whom I had taken sweet council how to gain the haven of eternal rest. I was pleased to find the work had spread considerably during my absence.

I attended the Conference held in Leeds, August, 1781, and was appointed to Canterbury circuit. An awful circumstance happened at Fetherstone : the magazine of gunpowder, of about seventy barrels, was blown up, and three men blown to atoms, and the town greatly shaken.

I attended the Conference in London, August 1782, and was appointed to Lynn circuit, in Norfolk county : here I sold my horse, and walked the circuit. We had great harmony, and some increase.

At the Conference held in Bristol, August 1783, I was appointed to the city and circuit of Norwich, with Adam Clarke and William Adamson,—two young men of promising abilities ; we passed the time in peace. This year closes my race of fifteen years travelling in the itinerant line in Europe, and the forty-seventh of my life.

July 28th, 1784. “ Lord, what is man, that thou art mindful of him ? ” My God, thou hast been very gracious to me, thy servant, through every period of my life. I bless thee, for that salvation thou hast made known to me, and for the dispensation of the Gospel thou hast committed to me, and for that success given to my small endeavours ; for that perfect resignation thou hast given me to every dispensation of thy providence.

Doctor Coke and some others offered themselves as missionaries for North America. Although brother Shadford expressed his desire that I might go, at first it appeared to me as though I was not concerned in the matter; but soon my mind was drawn to meditate on the subject: the power of God came upon me, and my heart was remarkably melted with love to God and man.

A prospect of some travels I was like to go through, if I engaged in that part of the Lord's work, appeared to me,—upon which I set apart a day for fasting and prayer, and after which, seeing nothing in my way, but the cross, and my own inability for so great a work, I offered myself, if my dear aged father, John Wesley, and my brethren thought proper.

As I passed through our societies from Leeds to London and Bristol, our friends showed us many kindnesses; so that nothing was wanting to make our voyage as comfortable as the nature of things would admit.

September 1st, 1784, Rev. John Wesley, Thomas Coke, and James Creyton, Presbyters of the Church of England, formed a Presbytery,* and or-

* Mr. Wesley had acted as an apostle in England and America, in the society formed under his care; also, among the preachers raised by him for many years. If the quotation made from some illustrious men, by the learned George Croly, A M. in his Introduction to the Revelations be correct, that "St. John was at once an apostle, an evangelist, and a prophet—an apostle in that he wrote letters to the church, a master," &c. why then did not Mr. Wesley, with equal propriety, call the above presbytery a convocation, and himself a Bishop? Why did he say, you may call me a villain, or what you please, but you shall not call me Bishop? All that he had been called, when smitten with the tongue and pen, without being "transported to Virginia, or sent to Newgate." But if he had called himself a Bishop, and ordained one without the appointment of Parliament, he would have transgressed the law of England, and might have been sent to Botany Bay or Newgate,

dained Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey, Deacons. And on September 2d, by the same hands, &c. Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey were ordained Elders,* and Thomas Coke, LL.D. was ordained Superintendent, for the Church of God, under our care in North America.

and for a crime of greater magnitude than quoting Mr. Toplady, for which he was called many opprobrious names.

A Presbytery is, *first*, a council of Elders, with a high priest, (Mark xiv. 53. Mat. xxvi. 3, 4, 5. Luke xxii. 66. John xviii. 19. Acts xxii. 5.)

Secondly, An assembly of Christian Ministers or Elders, with a distinguished one to direct the council, and give authority to its acts and deeds. Acts xv. 13. 1 Tim. iv. 14. Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy, with the laying on the hands of the Presbytery. 2 Tim. i. 6. Wherefore I put thee in remembrance that thou stir up the gift of God, which is in thee, by the putting on of my hands. Acts xiii. 3. When they had fasted and prayed, and laid their hands on them, they sent them away; so they being sent by the Holy Ghost, &c.

The Church of England never ordain but by a Presbytery, therefore all their consecrations and ordinations are written in the plural, as "We —, by the imposition of our hands," &c.

* The following is a copy of Mr. Whatcoat's certificate of ordination — The original parchment being now in the hands of the Editor.

"To all to whom these presents shall come, John Wesley, late Fellow of Lincoln College in Oxford, Presbyter of the Church of England, sendeth greeting:

Whereas many of the people in the southern provinces of North America, who desire to continue under my care, and still adhere to the doctrines and discipline of the Church of England, are greatly distressed for want of ministers, to administer the Sacraments of Baptism, and the Lord's Supper, according to the usage of the said Church: and whereas there does not appear to be any other way of supplying them with Ministers:

Know all men, that I, John Wesley, think myself to be providentially called at this time, to set apart some persons for the work of the Ministry in America. And therefore, under the protection of Almighty God, and with a single eye to his glory, I have this day set apart for the said work, as an Elder, by the imposition of my hands and prayer, (being assisted by two other ordained Ministers) Richard Whatcoat, a man whom I judge to be well qualified for that great work. And I do hereby recommend him to all whom it may concern, as a fit person to feed the flock of Christ, and to administer Baptism and the Lord's Supper, according to the usage of the Church of England. In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal, this second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty four.

JOHN WESLEY."

September 28th, at 10 o'clock, we embarked from King's Road, Bristol, for New-York, in a ship called the "Four Friends," John Parrot, captain, Mr. Phips, mate. For four days we were very sick; after which we were preserved in great temperance of body and peace of mind. "Bless the Lord, O my soul!"

The captain and sailors behaved with great civility. We had prayers morning and evening, and preaching twice on the Sabbath day. The evenings we spent chiefly in reading over the preachers' lives, the saint's rest, and other books of divinity.

We saw a whale about fifteen yards long; it played about the ship some time; we caught a dolphin about six pounds weight, which tasted very well. We saw a great number of porpoises. "Great are thy works thou parent of good!"

Two nights we had great thunder and lightning: We were out six weeks, and had no sight of land, the wind being much against us; so that, according to the sailor's measure, we sailed over four thousand miles of water.

We arrived at New-York, on Wednesday, the 3d of November, at 11 o'clock, 1784. We were kindly received by our Christian friends, Messrs. Sands and others. On Friday we set out for Philadelphia, in the stage wagon, and arrived on Saturday evening at 7 o'clock. It is one of the best constructed cities I ever saw; our friends received us kindly. On the 11th we borrowed two horses, and rode to Wilmington, from thence to the Cross Roads, where Mr. John Coles received us. From thence to Dover, where Mr. Basset gave us hearty welcome. We rode to Munderkill, in Kent county. Dr. Coke preached, and

we gave the Sacrament to some hundreds. We held a love-feast, and a more comfortable time I have not enjoyed in some years. Monday, Dr. Coke baptized sixteen people, and I returned with Mr. Asbury, to Dover. Tuesday, we went to Mr. Thomas's; Wednesday, to Deer Creek; Thursday, we began a quarterly meeting which was not so large nor so lively as that on Sunday and Monday last; but here are some happy and loving people.

Saturday, the 20th, Mr. Richard Dullam lent me a horse, and we rode to Abingdon; where I related a little of the Lord's dealings to a few and attentive people; Sunday morning, I expounded on the 5th of St. Matthew; in the evening I told them plainly that "the wages of sin is death;" 24th, preached at the Point; but my spirit was not so free as I could wish it to be; rode to Mr. Gough's: it rained nearly all the way, and I was detained by the heavy rain; I set forward to revisit Abingdon, where I met brother Black, from Nova Scotia, who informed me of the work of the Lord in those parts; that three hundred are in the society; but for want of proper watchmen many go astray. *Lord of the harvest, send faithful labourers into that part of thy vineyard!* 30th, we rode to Walter Waters and met a few kind people; Dr. Coke rode to Richard Waters, and preached with freedom. Brother Black preached at 6 o'clock, in the evening, and I hope not in vain. Rode to Mr Dullam's, and preached, and brother Black met the class. I rode to Deer Creek, spoke on perfect love, read the account of the death of William Adams, (a young preacher raised in America,)—a blessed witness of perfect love, who was soon ripe and gathered into the heavenly garner. 1st Sunday, in December, I rode to Mr. Jonas Grover's, and preached at noon

and at night: here I met with Michael Ellis, to whom I gave an account of our mission: he was greatly pleased: he is a member of Conference: we were greatly comforted together; we preached at several places, and met class; their feelings appeared better than mine: I rode to Thomas Cromwell's, my spirit somewhat depressed, I believe for want of stirring up the gift in me. December 19th, I preached in Hunt's Chapel, and rode to Mr. Henry Gough's; spent the evening with Dr. Coke, Mr. Asbury, and brother Vasey, in great peace. Twentieth, my rheumatism returned; we began to prepare for our Conference, and to consider some of our rules and minutes, as necessary to the helping forward the Lord's work in our connection, with great deliberation and impartiality, in the fear of God, may we hope, to the end;—21st, we went through some more of our minutes—22d and 23d, we continued in the same exercise:—24th, we rode to Baltimore; it was a severe frost; at 10 o'clock, we began our Conference, in which we agreed to form a Methodist Episcopal Church, *in which the Liturgy* (as presented by the Rev. John Wesley) *should be read*, Sacraments to be administered by a Superintendent, Elders, and Deacons, who shall be ordained by a Presbytery, using the Episcopal form, (as prescribed in the Rev. Mr. Wesley's prayer book.)

Persons to be ordained are to be nominated by the Superintendent, and elected by Conference; and ordained by imposition of the hands of the Superintendent and Elders; *the Superintendent has a negative voice.**

* Supreme power, jurisdiction, and ordination is Mr. Chillingworth's demonstration of the apostolic Institution of Episcopacy: "If we abstract from Episcopal government all accidental, and consider

Twenty-fifth, Francis Asbury was ordained Deacon; 26th, he was ordained Elder, and on the 27th.

only what is absolutely necessary to it, we find in it no more than this, an appointment of one man of eminent sanctity and sufficiency to have the care of all the Churches within a certain precinct or diocese, and furnishing him with authority, *not absolute and arbitrary*, but regulated and bounded by laws, and moderated, by joining him to a convenient number of assistants." Archbishop Usher discarded the idea of *sole power* in his scheme. Dr. Holdsworth was of the same judgment with Usher.

Dr. Joseph Hall doth also disclaim *sole power* in the plainest terms: "Ordination is the Bishop's, but the *sole power* not their own: neither did our Bishops ever challenge it as theirs *alone*, without the Presbyters: but as principally theirs with them, so as if the power be the Bishops, the assistance is from the *Presbyters*.—The practice from both. So it is in the Bishops, that, ordinarily and regularly, it may not be done without *them*; and yet, ordinarily it may not be done without the Presbyters by the Bishop: which hath been so carefully observed, that I challenge them to show any one instance in the Church of England to the contrary. Say, brethren, what Bishop ever took upon him to ordain a Presbyter alone, without the concurrent imposition of many hands?"

Mr. Thorndike: "By the appointment of the Apostles, the body of Christians contained in each city, and the territories thereof, to constitute several churches, to be governed by one chief ruler, called a Bishop, with Presbyters, subordinate to him, for his advice and assistance. I allow the name of Bishops in the apostolic writings to comprehend Priests also, because of the matter of their function common to both, though with a chief power in the Bishop, in Priests so *limited* as to do nothing without his consent and allowance. That all that enter into the sacred order of priesthood, have some charge of its flock, and some government of the Church committed to them, as well as Bishops; though in subordination to them, and dependent on their laws, and dependence for the exercise of this power, (received in ordination,) yet not such a dependence this neither, but that many of those acts become valid when done, though done without a license: so the Presbyters do teach, exhort, rebuke, catechise, examine men's conscience, take confessions, do bind and impose satisfaction, suspend from absolution, and sacrament, &c. and thus exercise a supreme jurisdiction of binding and loosing, accountable to none but God."

Brief account of ancient Church Government, printed in London, Anno 1652.

Dr. Isaac Barrow, on Heb. xiii. 17:—"The Church, a well marshalled army under the captain general of our salvation, (the head of the body) their divers captains serving in degrees of subordination; Bishops commanding larger regiments, Presbyters ordering less numerous companies; all which, by the hand of common faith, of mutual charity, of holy communion, and peace, being combined together, do, in their respective station, govern and guide, being ever governed and

Superintendent: 28th, we deliberately considered some rules of discipline, and elected several to holy orders—31st, fourteen Deacons were ordained.

January 1st, we considered and proceeded on some resolutions to build a College at Abingdon. January 2d, twelve Elders and one Deacon were ordained, and we ended our Conference, in great peace and unanimity, on the 2d day of January, in the year of our Lord, 1785. May the good Lord follow our endeavours with a never ceasing shower of heart-reviving love !

I travelled nearly five months in Queen Anns, Talbot, and Dorset circuits ; here the people seemed ripe for the Gospel : preaching almost every day, and sometimes twice a day, with the administering of the ordinances of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, kept

guided : the Bishops, each in his charge, guiding more immediately the Priests, subject to *them* ; the Priests each guiding the people committed to their charge." By his principles Bishops are the successors of the Apostles. That the Apostles formed societies, ordained pastors, framed rules and orders for the good government and edification of the Churches, reserving to themselves a kind of paramount inspection and jurisdiction over them, which in effect was only a paternal care over them.

Dr. Parker, Bishop of Oxford : " This Episcopal superiority acting only in conjunction with the Presbyters, is the most proper method that could be, to prevent confusion on the one hand, and tyranny on the other."

Dr. Pearson, Bishop, gives an account of the power lodged in the persons of Timothy and Titus. That the Apostles should have first planted Presbyters, as governors of the churches, and afterwards set Bishops over them, with a superiority of power not destructive of the power of the Presbyters, but paramount unto it.

Dr. Stillingfleet accuseth Baxter of running into a perpetual mistake in having recourse to *sole power*. " That the English Episcopacy is not a succession to the ordinary part of the apostolic power in governing the Churches, but a new sort of Episcopacy, not of the kind in the ancient Church, which *swallowed up* the whole power of Presbyters, and leaves them only a name of Curates." Stillingfleet demonstrates that by the English constitution, the Diocesan Bishop hath neither the sole power of ordination nor of jurisdiction, to reduce the Presbyters to the same order with the rest of the people.

me in full employ ; the 22d of May, 1785, I preached at Worton, in Kent county, in the morning, and baptized thirty-six children, and in the afternoon I preached at John Angers, and baptized fifty more. At the Conference held at Baltimore, the 1st of June, I was appointed as Elder to Baltimore and Frederick circuits : here we had a few honest, faithful souls.

At a Conference held at Abingdon, in May, 1786, I was appointed Elder for Kent, Talbot, and Dover circuits, where I laboured for about three months. In Talbot and Dorset, the work revived ; we had a precious time at a quarterly meeting held on Kent Island, August 5th and 6th, especially at the Sacrament. Several professed justification, and some sanctification. In September I was removed to Philadelphia circuit : here I laboured about seven or eight months.

In May, June, and July, 1787, I travelled in Baltimore circuit, and then removed to Allegany, Bath, and Berkley circuits : here I laboured nearly fourteen months ; went regularly through the circuits, and administered the ordinances in every place where it was convenient.

At a Conference held at Baltimore, in September, 1788, I was appointed to Cecil, Kent, Talbot, Dorset, Annamessex, Somerset, Northampton, Caroline, and Dover circuits, as presiding Elder ; here I laboured in the Lord's vineyard, between six and seven months.

The 26th of April, 1789, at a quarterly meeting, held at the old meeting-house, near Cambridge, Dorset county, the Lord came in power at our Sacrament ; the cries of the mourners, and the ecstasies of believers were such, that the preacher's voice could scarcely be heard, for the space of three hours : many were added to the number of true believers. At our

quarterly meeting, held at St. Michael's, for Talbot circuit, the power of the Lord was present, to wound and to heal. Sabbath following, our quarterly meeting, held at Johnstown, for Caroline circuit, was yet more glorious; the power of the Lord came down at our love feast. The house was filled with the members of our societies, and great numbers of people were on the outside; the doors and windows were thrown open, and some thronged in at the latter. Such times my eyes never beheld before!

May 5th and 6th, we held quarterly meetings for Dover circuit, at Duck Creek Cross Roads; the 7th and 8th, at Dudley Church, for Queen Ann's circuit; and on the 10th and 11th, at Georgetown, for Kent circuit. The power of the Lord spread from circuit to circuit. Oh, how delightful it is to preach glad tidings, when we see souls "coming home to God, as doves to their windows!"

In the latter part of May, and in June, July, and August, I travelled with Bishop Asbury, to Philadelphia, New-York, the Nine Partners, and through New-Jersey to Philadelphia, and from thence to Fort Pitt, and attended Conference at Uniontown, and returned to Baltimore the 15th of September. On the 28th, I attended a watch night at captain Ridgley's, which was highly blest. After that, I took a tour through the Peninsula, and returned to Baltimore on the 9th of December; the 14th, Bishop Asbury preached at Annapolis, and we pursued our course to the south, through Virginia, and North Carolina, to Charleston in South Carolina, where we arrived on the 11th of February, 1790.

After spending a few days in the city, we held a Conference, February 15th, and the Lord was present in power; the saints were glad, and the wicked

were offended. We passed on to the west, and held Conference in Georgia, the 3d of March. We had blessed times ; some souls were powerfully converted.

After preaching at several places in Georgia, and North Carolina, we passed on for Kentucky ; as we journeyed towards Holston, night overtook us, and we were shut in between two mountains. We gave our horses a little provender out of our sacks, and let them loose, and struck up a fire ; but the thunder-gust nearly put it out. The next day we pursued our journey towards General Russel's, and there we were kindly entertained. After a few days rest, we travelled on to the last station, in the Grassy Valley, expecting to meet a company to conduct us through the wilderness, according to appointment ; but no company was heard of, and next morning our horses were gone. That day, diligent search was made, but no horses were found ; so the next day we packed up our saddles and baggage, on brother T. Henderson's horse, and returned ten miles back into the settlement. After we had been there a little while, two boys followed us with our three horses. We travelled about the settlement, and held meetings for about a fortnight.

One morning Bishop Asbury told me that he dreamed that he saw two men well mounted, who told him they were come to conduct him to Kentucky, and had left their company in the Grassy Valley : so it was ; after preaching, they made their appearance ; we then got our horses shod, mustered up a little provision, joined our company, and passed through the wilderness, about one hundred and fifty miles. The first day we came to the new station : here we lay under cover ; but some of the company had to watch all night. The next two nights we

watched by turns ; some watching while others lay down. As there was not a good understanding between the savages and the white people, we travelled in jeopardy ; but I think I never travelled with more solemn awe, and serenity of mind. As we fed our horses three times a day, so we had prayer three times.

Bishop Asbury preached at Henry Reynold's on the 12th of May, and the 13th at Lexington, and on the 14th our Conference began at Richard Masster-so's, near Lexington. We staid about two weeks, and travelled about one hundred miles through the settlement, preached thirteen sermons, and then returned through the wilderness. Suspecting danger from the savages, we travelled one night and two days without lying down to rest. We called at General Russel's, who informed us that he and his lady had found peace with God. We came to George McNight's on the Yadkin, the 3d of June : here the preachers were waiting for the Bishop to hold Conference with them. After the Conference closed, we passed on, and came to Petersburg the 13th of June, and held Conference there, after which we passed by Liberty Court-house.

The 10th of July, 1790, Bishop Asbury preached John Tunil's funeral sermon, from Philippians i. 21, at Potes Creek ; we passed on by the Sweet Springs, Greenbriar Court-house, Tiger's Valley, and Morgantown, to Uniontown. Here we held a little Conference, and had refreshing times from the presence of the Lord. Most days we have had a congregation to preach to. In the last fifteen months I think we have travelled six thousand miles.

August 2d, I returned by the Warm Springs, Shepherdstown, and Baltimore, to Philadelphia, August

22d—about three hundred miles from Uniontown ; and preached fifteen or sixteen sermons as I passed from place to place. Here I stopped about a month, and wanted my horse, to ride with Bishop Asbury to New-York : but Mr. Procter's men had drowned him in the Delaware river. After a short visit to New-York, I returned and laboured agreeably with this people nine months.

May 26th, 1791, I attended Conference at New-York, and was stationed here for the ensuing season. I continued until September, 1792 ; we had great peace among ourselves, and refreshing times among the people.

At the Annual Conference held at New-York, on the 19th of July, I was appointed for Baltimore ; I was sick at Philadelphia, and stopped there about three weeks, then went on, and attended the General Conference, held at Baltimore, the 1st of November ; after which I took my station in town, and visited from house to house, and laboured steadily until the next Conference in 1793. We had many refreshing times, and were much united.

At the Conference held in Baltimore, October 20th, 1794, I was appointed to preside over Dover, Milford, Somerset, Northampton, Annamessex, Dorset, Talbot, Caroline, Queen Ann, Kent, and Cecil circuits. On this Peninsula I laboured, until October, 1796. We had large congregations, and many blessed revivals in different parts of the district. Our quarterly meetings were generally comfortable, lively, and profitable. Some appeared extraordinary ; while souls were suddenly struck with convictions, and fell to the ground, and roaring out for the disquietness of their souls, or as though almost dead, and after a while start up and praise God, as though heaven were

come into their souls : others were as much concerned for a clean heart, and as fully delivered. I had to attend forty-eight quarterly meetings, in the space of twelve months, while on this district.

I attended General Conference held at Baltimore, the 20th of October, 1796, and rode with Bishop Asbury and Bishop Coke to Virginia, and attended the Conference held at Mabry's Chapel, the 15th of November, 1796. I then travelled to the south district of Virginia, namely, Cumberland, Greensville, Brunswick, Amelia, Sussex, Bartie, Portsmouth, and Camden circuits, with the towns of Norfolk and Portsmouth. On this district we passed through and touched on thirty counties, in Virginia and North Carolina : it took me about six, or between that and seven hundred miles, to go through my district once in three months. We had a great revival in several parts of this district ; but the slave trade seems to hinder the progress of Christianity in these regions.

In August and September, 1798, I visited Caswell, Tar River, Goshen, Newbern, Contenteny, Pamlico, and Roanoke circuits, on James Rogers's district, in North Carolina, and found a few precious souls even here also. The 13th of October, 1800, I returned to my district in Virginia, and continued on it until April. I filled up my time with a good degree of peace and consolation. I rode with brother Jesse Lee, and William Mc Kendree to Maryland, and attended the Conference held at Robert Carnan's, the 1st. of May : five were ordained to the Elder's and one to the Deacon's office : we rode to Baltimore on the fifth.

At our General Conference held at Baltimore, in Maryland, May the 6th, 1800, I was elected and ordained to the Episcopal office. We had a most bless-

ed time and much preaching, fervent prayers, and strong exhortations through the city, while the high praises of a gracious God reverberated from street to street, and from house to house, which greatly alarmed the citizens. It was thought that not less than two hundred were converted during the sitting of our Conference.

On the 1st of June we held a Conference at Duck Creek Cross Roads, in the state of Delaware. This was a glorious time; such a spirit of faith, prayer, and zeal, rested on the preachers and people, that I think it exceeded any thing of the kind I ever saw before. O, the strong cries, groans, and agonies of the mourners! enough to pierce the hardest heart; but when the Deliverer set their souls at liberty, their ecstasies of joy were inexpressibly great, so that the high praises of the Redeemer's name sounded through the town, until solemnity appeared on every countenance: the effect of which was, that on the Thursday following, one hundred and fifteen persons joined the society in that town, while the divine flame spread greatly through the adjacent societies. We visited our societies, and passed on through Philadelphia.

Our Conference began at New-York, the 19th of June, 1800, and closed the 23d; a few souls were converted. We pursued our course to the east, through New-London, Rhode Island, and Boston, to Lynn, in the state of Massachusetts; about five hundred and ninety miles, in the way we travelled. Here Conference began the 18th of July, and closed the 20th. There is a promising appearance of a good work in these eastern states. From hence we passed through Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and Tennessee, to Bethel, in

Kentucky, partly a south, and south-west course of one thousand three hundred and twenty miles. Here we held a little Conference on the 6th and 7th of October, 1800 ; the weather was unfavourable, and our stay very short ; so that we had but little opportunity of seeing the country or people. As we journeyed on towards Nashville, in the state of Tennessee, partly a south course of about two hundred and twenty miles, we heard a strange report about religion. We were told that the Presbyterians work by new rules ; that they make the people cry and fall down, and profess to be converted. The 19th of October, William Mc Kendree, Bishop Asbury, and myself preached at Nashville, (the capital of Cumberland settlement, finely situated on the banks of the river,) to a large assembly : the word seemed to be with power ; the 20th we attended the Presbyterian Sacramental occasion, held at Montgomery meeting-house, on Drake Creek, which continued four days and nights. After a short intercourse with the ministers, they desired us to take the stand, and speak to the people ; accordingly brother McKendree, Bishop Asbury and myself spoke freely ; the power of the Lord was present to wound, and to heal ; several found peace that evening. It was truly pleasing to see so many gathered together, under the stately beach trees, to worship and adore the great Creator and Redeemer of mankind. We preached at several places, and passed on to Knoxville, where Bishop Asbury and I preached in the state-house, to a large assembly, on the 2d of November ; brother Mc Kendree closed the service with prayer. Bishop Asbury ordained John Winton to the Deacon's office, and baptised four children. The way we travelled from Nashville to Knoxville, Tennessee, was about two hundred

and twenty-three miles, partly a south-east course; but it was trying to our delicate constitutions, to ride through the rain a great part of the day, until late in the night, and then to encamp on the wet ground, the wind and rain beating hard upon us.

From Knoxville to Augusta, in Georgia, we took near a south course, of about three hundred and thirty-five miles. We preached at several places by the way; but oh, what mountains and rocks we had to pass over. When we came within a few miles of the Hot Springs, Bishop Asbury got a friend to lead his horse; but the road being rough and narrow, the horse stumbled or started, and turned the sulky bottom upwards, between the Paint Rock, French Broad River; but the horse lay quietly on his back until we released the harness; the carriage rested against a large saplin, which supported it from going down into the river. November 30th, I preached in a dwelling-house in the morning, and Bishop Asbury preached in the church in the afternoon, to a thin congregation: it looked like the "day of small things." August 14th, we rode through several counties in Georgia, and Carolina, visited several societies, preached to the people, and were comforted in seeing and hearing of the prosperity of Zion.

After travelling about two hundred and ninety miles from Augusta, we came to Camden, in South Carolina, the 31st of December: here we opened our Conference in Isaac Smith's house, the 1st of January, 1801, preaching every day: very few of the citizens attended, the weather being severe. We had great peace among ourselves, and were kindly entertained by two families. Seven preachers were received on trial, six located, five ordained to the Deacon's, and three to the Elder's office; Tuesday the 6th, we

closed our conference in brotherly love. We passed on nearly in an east course ; and stopped at Richard Green's, Kingston, near Little River, the 6th of February. I read a part of Prince's Christian History, containing accounts of the revivals and propagation of religion in Great Britain and America, for the year 1743 ;— its features, tendencies, and effects were similar to what has appeared in our day ; J. A. Robe, minister of the Gospel at Kilsyth, observes that this caused the Rev. Mr. Edwards, minister of the Gospel at Northampton, in New England, to preach and publish a sermon on the distinguishing marks of the work of the Spirit of God ; he also observes, there is much reason to conclude that the work of God in converting many in several parishes in the shire of Ayre, and other places, from 1625 to 1630, was attended with much the same appearance.

We continued our travels through a level country, thinly settled, sandy roads, thick set with lofty pines ; preached at several places. On the 25th of February, 1801, we dined at General Smith's, and rode to Jesse Fenorett's, Wilmington ; 26th, Bishop Asbury preached in the morning in the Methodist Episcopal Church, and in the afternoon in the Episcopal Church : 27th, we travelled on, and came to Newbern the 6th of March ; the way we travelled from Camden to Newbern, was about five hundred miles. We continued our course through a level, rich, but sickly country, preaching most days, and came to Portsmouth the 28th of March—from Newbern two hundred and twenty miles. After the exercises of the Sabbath, we took a west course of about one hundred and thirty miles, to Edward Droomgoole's.

April 9th, our Conference began : we had peace and good order ; three preachers were ordained to

the Elder's, and seven to the Deacon's office. After visiting several societies, we came to Petersburg on the 19th,—from Norfolk, the way we came, about two hundred and sixteen miles. We passed through Richmond, Fredericksburg, Alexandria, and Montgomery, to Pipe Creek. On the 1st of May our Conference began at Henry Willis's, and closed the 5th, in great peace; six preachers were ordained to the Elder's, and one to the Deacon's office. After preaching at Ryster's Town, and the stone chapel, we came to Baltimore the 8th of May;—the way we came from Petersburg to Baltimore is about two hundred and sixty-six miles.

Our circuit through the continent since we left Baltimore, 21st of May, 1801, is about four thousand one hundred and eighty-four miles. We had the pleasure of seeing and hearing that pure and undefiled religion is spreading in a general way; in some places it is extraordinary. May 10th, I preached in Old Town in the morning, at the Point in the afternoon, and at Laight-street at night. May the 11th, we set out for the east, but we took a circuit on the eastern shore, through Cecil, Kent, Queen Ann, Talbot, Dorset, Somerset, Annamessex, and Accomack circuits, and so returned through Delaware state, to Pennsylvania. There has been a most glorious revival of religion in this Peninsula: on two circuits, not less than a thousand on each circuit joined the society in the course of one year, and most of them found peace with God.

Conference began at Philadelphia on the 1st of June, 1801, and closed the 6th. We ordained six to the Elder's, and seven to the Deacon's office. Saturday, the 13th, I left Bishop Asbury under Doctor Physic's care; spent the Sabbath at Trenton, and on

the 15th, rode towards New-York. Our Conference began Tuesday, the 16th, and closed the 22d, in great peace and harmony; I ordained eight to the Elder's, and four travelling, and two local preachers to the Deacon's office; the 23d, started for the east, and passed over a hilly and stony country, thickly settled and much-improved, through Reading, East Mountain, Hartford, and Boston, to Lynn, in the state of Massachusetts, preaching at several places by the way.

We began our Conference at Lynn. July 17th, and closed the 19th. I ordained two to the Deacon's, and two to the Elder's office; we had great peace and harmony, preaching morning and evening, and four times on the Sabbath; the way we travelled from Baltimore to Lynn, is about five hundred and thirty-three miles. From Lynn we took nearly a north west course of two hundred and twenty miles, to Ashgrove or Cambridge, in the state of New-York, over a mountainous but fruitful country. Brother Hutchinson and I travelled on through Milton, Tioga Point, the English Station, Northumberland, Carlisle, Shippensburg, Chambersburg, Green Castle, and Hager's Town, to Frederick, in Maryland, about five hundred and fifty miles from Ashgrove, through a country partly of wilderness, uneven, and mountainous, and partly thick settled, and fruitful: we found a people to preach to in most places, more or less, by day or night. Bishop Asbury preached in Fredericktown the 28th of August; the 29th, he took his tour for Tennessee; and brother Hutchinson and I for Georgia, through the midlands of Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina; the 30th of October, we met Bishop Asbury, and were together a few days. November 1st, Nicholas Snethen preached morning and afternoon at Augusta, and I preached

at night in our new church : the people were greatly attracted by brother Snethen's preaching. The way we travelled from Frederick to Augusta, is about seven hundred and sixty-three miles.

Brother Hutchinson and I took a south or south-west course, of about three hundred and thirty-seven miles, from Augusta to St. Tillers, through a sandy, pine part of Georgia, very thinly settled. We preached at one place where we were informed they had not had a sermon preached in their neighbourhood for the space of twelve months. The 29th of November, I preached in the meeting-house near John Crawford's, to about fifty or sixty people, from 1 John, iii. 8. From this place to Colerayn is ten miles, and to New Town, on the mouth of St. Mary's, twenty-five ; but the fever was there, and about thirty had died, we were told. From St. Tiller's to Savannah, we took near a south-east course, of about one hundred and sixty-six miles, preaching at eight places, and calling to see the ruins of the Orphan House. Oh, the waste of fifty years ! What are men pursuing ? How soon will worlds be thrown into ruins ! I was kindly entertained at Mr. John Millin's, Savannah ; the Rev. Mr. Holcom, and the Rev. Mr. Smith, kindly offered me their pulpits for the Sabbath. I preached in the Baptist church in the morning, and in the Presbyterian church in the afternoon, the congregations were large and respectable.

December 15th, we passed on through a low, flat country, for fifty or one hundred miles from the Sea coast, being much of it covered with water, and thinly inhabited, except by the negroes who work the rice fields. We came to Charleston, in South Carolina, the 18th of December,—about one hundred and thirty miles from Savannah. After spend-

ing ten days with the citizens, we rode to Camden, one hundred and thirty miles from Charleston.

Here our Conference began the 1st of January, 1802, and closed the 5th, in great peace. We ordained six to the Deacon's, and six to the Elder's office. On the 7th, brother Hutchinson and I continued our course up the country, until we came to William White's, on John's Run, a branch of the Catawba; then Br. Hutchinson took his course for Kentucky, and I continued my course through the hill country, until I came to Samuel Holmes', Mecklenburg, in Virginia. I preached nearly every day, and ordained eleven local preachers to the Deacon's office,

Our Conference began at Salem, March 1st, and closed the 4th. I ordained seven travelling, and five local preachers to the Deacon's office; it was thought that ten or twelve were converted during the sitting of our Conference; on the 7th, I preached at Petersburg, and ordained one local preacher to the Deacon's office; from Camden to Petersburg, the way I travelled, is about five hundred and eighty-five miles. I visited several societies, preached to the people, and came to Baltimore, in Maryland, the 27th of March, three hundred and twenty-two miles from Petersburg, the way I came: in my course through the Continent, since I left Baltimore the 11th of last April, it is about three thousand seven hundred and seven miles, in the sixty-sixth year of my age.

Our Conference began at Baltimore, the 1st of April, and closed the 5th: four travelling, and five local preachers were ordained to the Deacon's office, and one to the Elder's office; the 6th of April, we set out on our course through the eastern shore of Maryland, Virginia, and Delaware, and came to Philadelphia the 30th, the way we travelled from Baltimore, is about five hundred and sixty-two miles

to Philadelphia. Here our Conference began on the 1st of May, and closed the 6th; seven preachers were ordained to the Deacon's, and three to the Elder's office; we visited the societies in N. Jersey, and came to New-York the 25th, 1802; about two hundred and four miles the way we took. Our Conference began at New-York, the 1st of June, and closed the 5th: eleven travelling and three local preachers were ordained to the Deacon's, and seven to the Elder's office; the 7th, we pursued our course through the states of New-York, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New-Hampshire, to Monmouth, in the county of Kennebec, in the District of Maine; here our Conference began the 1st of July, and closed the 3d: we ordained four preachers to the Deacon's, and four to the Elder's office; the way we travelled from New-York to Boston, was about three hundred and three miles, and from Boston to Monmouth, one hundred and seventy-three miles. We had a large gathering of people for this newly settled country, and a good prospect of the spread of religion. Here Bishop Asbury and I parted for a few months; he passed through the country to hold Conference in Cumberland, in the state of Tennessee, the 1st of October, and I took a north-west course, through the notch of the mountain, by Dartmouth College, Mosischo Bay, Lake Champlain, Ballstown Springs, Cayuga Lake, Genesee, Buffalo, Cataraugus, Chateaugai, and so up the east side of Lake Erie, about one hundred miles; a rich soil, thinly settled, partly by the white people, and partly by Indians. I crossed the Ohio near Charlestown, and so passed on, partly an east and south-east course, through Redstone, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, to Georgetown: from Monmouth to Georgetown, the way I travelled, it is about one thousand seven hundred and sixteen miles. I at-

tended several quarterly meetings, and ordained twelve local preachers to the Deacon's office ; our congregations were large and solemn ; at Winchester and Fairfax, the Lord was powerfully present to wound and to heal : I believe not less than twenty were converted at these two meetings.

On the 21st of December, 1803, I took a circuit through Frederick, Rysterstown, Baltimore, Annapolis, Federal City, Alexandria, Fredericksburg, Richmond, and Petersburg, so on to Edward Droomgoole's. Here our Conference began the 1st of March, and closed the 5th, in great peace. I ordained five travelling, and four local preachers to the Deacon's, and three to the Elder's office ; Sabbath-day was a great day : after the love-feast the public service continued from 11 o'clock, until 9 at night, in the woods : it was thought twenty, if not thirty, were converted ; from Georgetown to Droomgoole's, the course I have taken, it is about four hundred and sixty-six miles : the 7th of March, I returned, and came to Baltimore, the 27th, two hundred and eighty-three miles from Droomgoole's. Our Conference began at Baltimore the 1st of April, and closed the 6th, I ordained four preachers to the Deacon's, and six to the Elder's office ; in the city and at the Point about seventy sermons were preached, in the space of six days ; strong exhortations followed, and many were converted. In the last twelve months I have travelled about three thousand seven hundred and seven miles, and in the sixty-seventh year of my age, though I have had considerable afflictions, which have greatly shaken this house of clay.

The 11th of April, Bishop Asbury and I set out for the east : we took a little circuit through Hartford, Cecil, Kent, Queen Anne, Talbot, and Dorset circuits, and returned to Duck Creek Cross Roads, in

the state of Delaware. Here our Conference began May 2d, 1803, and closed the 5th. I ordained twelve travelling and five local preachers to the Deacon's, and twelve to the Elder's office; we had a very large gathering of preachers and people, and we were indulged with the privilege of holding our Conference in the Friends' meeting-house; the 7th, we rode to Wilmington, and the 10th, to Philadelphia, the way we travelled from Baltimore, is about three hundred and fifty-two miles. We left the city the 16th, and preached at Bristol and Burlington; and came to New-York the 19th, and after settling some affairs, and the exercises of the Sabbath, (though we had little rest that night, the alarm of fire continuing a great part of the night, the bread factory being in flames) on the 23d. we continued our course through the White Plains, Bedford, Reading, Stratford, New-Haven, Middletown, Hebron, Windham, so on to Boston; the distance from Philadelphia to Boston, is about three hundred and seventy-four miles.

Here our Conference began on the 9th of June, and closed the 11th; one preacher was ordained to the Deacon's, and two to the Elder's office; the 12th of June, we turned our course to the west, through Waltham, Haverard, New Marlborough, Portland, Chesterfield, Brattleborough, Bennington, to Ashgrove or Cambridge, in the state of New-York, over a hilly, rocky, mountainous country, about one hundred and eighty miles from Boston. Our Conference began at John Baker's, the 1st of June, 1803, and closed the 5th: fifteen travelling and two local preachers were ordained to the Deacon's, and five to the Elder's office. We had a large assembly on the Sabbath-day. The 6th of July, we took a south course by the Half Moon Point, Albany, Paquimmon's Patent, Newbury, Hacket's Town, Asbury Town,

and Trenton, and came to Philadelphia the 19th of July, 1803—from Ashgrove, about three hundred miles. The 23d, we stopped at Jacob Snowden's. Bishop Asbury advised me to travel and labour but little, until the General Conference, (as I have had a considerable discharge of blood with my urine, being brought on through bodily weakness and fatigue) so that we parted, Bishop Asbury passing on to the western Conference, and I tarried a few weeks at Snowdersburg, Columby, and Little York, and rode by slow degrees to Baltimore, where I arrived the 22d of August, and continued until the 17th of July, 1804: I preached once on the Sabbath most of the time I staid in the city.

The 7th of May, our General Conference began. I sat with them ten days; but the inflammation in my eyes was so violent, that I was obliged to withdraw; but my kind Doctor Wilkins gave me a poultice which checked the violence of the tumour. On the 23d, our Conference closed in great peace and much love; the 17th of July, I set out for the west, and rode by slow degrees to Harry Steeven's, Green county, Pennsylvania, being about three hundred miles, the way I travelled from Baltimore. Here I found Bishop Asbury laid up with a bilious fever; I stayed with him about thirty-two days; then we rode about ninety miles together; but fearing he had not strength to pass through the wilderness, he returned; and I travelled on by Weeland, Newel's Town, Muskingum, Ohaukin, Chillicothe, staying two nights at Governor Tiffin's, and preaching in town; then rode on for Kentucky, crossing the Ohio at the mouth of Cabin Creek. I stopped a night at Richard Tilton's, also, at Martin Hitt's, and preached at Jesse Griffith's, the 4th of November. I stopped a night at Lexington; also, at Shevaril Garner's, preaching two sermons

at William Jeffers's. We rode to Job Johnson's, Jessamen county, the 12th. Jesse Griffith and I took the wilderness; on the 16th, we got safe to Martin Stubblefield's, Grange county, Tennessee; the 17th, brother Griffith returned, and I continued my course by the Warm Springs, Bunkum, and the head branches of Selewdy, to Colremby in South Carolina. Mr. Reed, a Presbyterian minister, preached in the State-House at 12 o'clock, Dr. Mackey, President of the College, at half past 3 o'clock, and I at night; 16th of December, I continued my course to Charleston.

The 1st of January, 1805, our Conference began: one was ordained to the Deacon's, and four to the Elder's office; the 5th we closed our Conference: we had good order, and great peace. The way I travelled from Baltimore to Charleston, was about twelve hundred and ten miles. January 8th, Bishop Asbury and I set out for the east, by the way of Lumberdon, Fayetteville, Wilmington, Newbern, and Washington; but in crossing Tar River, the boat filled with water, yet, thank God, we got safe to land; after delivering three discourses, Bishop Asbury preached at William's Town: we rode through Murphresburg, and Suffolk, to Portsmouth: after a short visit at Norfolk, we passed on to Petersburg, and so on to Edmund Taylor's, Granville county, North Carolina, where our Conference began on the 1st of March: we ordained four to the Deacon's, and five to the Elder's office; the 8th, our Conference closed in great peace. On the 9th, we travelled on for New London, Lynchburg, Woodville, Whinghton, Front Royal, and New Town, to Winchester in Virginia, where our Conference began the 1st of April, and closed the 5th. We ordained three to the Deacon's, and two to the Elder's office. It was thought that six souls were converted in one evening. On the

6th we rode to Charlestown, by Harper's Ferry, and Frederick, to Baltimore. The way we travelled from Charlestown to Baltimore is twelve hundred and eighteen miles. We generally had great liberty in preaching; and were highly gratified in seeing and hearing of Zion's prosperity.—Thanks to the adorable Trinity for such days of grace and gospel liberty!—On the 17th we journeyed for the eastern shore, and visited several places in the States of Delaware and Maryland; and began our Conference at Chestertown, Kent County, Maryland, May 1st: we ordained three to the Deacon's, and two to the Elder's office. We had great searching of hearts, strict discipline, good order, much preaching to large congregations, and very comfortable times. On the 8th our Conference closed. Bishop Asbury and I took a north-east course, through Pennsylvania, the Jerseys, and the State of New York. On Friday, the 7th of June, our camp meeting began at a place called Stillwater: about twenty tents were erected, and about five hundred people attended. In the night rain descended, but our meeting continued about thirty hours, notwithstanding the rain. Many continued in singing, prayer, and exhortation, with little intermission. On Saturday, there were about forty tents. On the Sabbath, it was thought that five or six thousand people attended, and about sixty preachers. Monday, about five o'clock in the evening, we closed our meeting. A considerable number were brought under the powerful operations of grace. Our Conference began on the 12th of June, at Ashgrove, Cambridge County, in the State of New-York. We ordained seven to the Deacon's, and nine to the Elder's office; on the 18th, our Conference closed in great peace. The way we travelled from Baltimore to Ashgrove, is six hun-

dred and seven miles. There Bishop Asbury and I parted : he went to the New England Conference, and I returned to the West. I stopped a few days at brother Freeborn Garrettson's. Having sent my horse to New-York, I went down the river in a sloop with brother Garrettson. On the 16th of July, I arrived at Little York, three hundred and eighty-two miles from Ashgrove.

Notwithstanding my infirm state of body, through the blessing of God, I have been able to travel three thousand four hundred and sixteen miles the last twelve months, stopping one fourth of the time at different places by the way.

July 22d, I continued my course through Carlisle, Shippensburg, Bedford, Berlin, Canals Town, Union Town, Washington, West Liberty, and crossed the Ohio near Weeland; and have great reason to bless God, who has preserved me these many years as an itinerant preacher, during which time he hath delivered me from many afflictions of body and mind.

Here the journal preserved by Mr. Whatcoat concludes.—In presenting which, the Editor has conscientiously abstained from interpolations, or attempts at improvement, under the persuasion, that the reader would prefer the matter as originally written by their deceased friend.

Among Mr. Whatcoat's papers was found the following substance of a sermon, which he preached (extemporaneously) in John-Street Church, New York.

ON THE LOVE OF OUR NEIGHBOUR.

Rom. xiii. 9.—“ *Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.*”

THE holy apostle having proved at large that Jew and Gentile had sinned, and come short of the glory of God ; and that there was but one way for their recovery, which was through the redemption which is in Christ Jesus, admonishes Christians, in the twelfth and following chapters, to several relative duties. One which he strongly enforces is, “ to obey the Civil Powers, not only through fear, but for conscience’ sake ; for there is no power but of God ; the powers that be, are ordained of God :” the power is of God ; the abuse of it is of man. After speaking of several branches of the Christian duty, he adds, “ if there be any other commandment, it is summed up in this saying, ‘ Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.’” But “ who is my neighbour ?” Perhaps there is a nearer relation subsisting among men than most people are aware of. Is not God the “ Father of the Spirits of all flesh ?” hath he not “ made of one blood all nations dwelling on the face of the earth ?” If we have one father ; are of one blood, one family ; are all *His* offspring, and are “ the sheep of his pasture,” then *all men* are neighbours. If any distinction is to be made, it is in the case of him that acts the neighbourly part of showing mercy, (Luke x. 31.)

But what is our duty to our neighbour ? Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. Love is the essence of religion—the bond and perfection of every duty we owe to God, and our neighbour ; therefore

“love is the fulfilling of the law.” But this embraces the disposition and temper of the mind and heart,—the words of our lips and the actions of our lives. St. Peter admonishes us also to love one another, with a pure heart fervently, (1 Peter i. 22.) Paul adds, “Be ye kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another, even as God, for Christ’s sake, hath forgiven you,” (Eph. iv. 32.) St. John says, “Beloved, let us love one another: for love is of God,” (John iv. 9.) God is love: and he that dwelleth in love, dwelleth in God, and God in him,” (iv. 16,) ; and our Lord adds, “I say unto you, love your enemies, (Mat. v. 44.) What a heavenly temper is this !

“Soft peace she brings, wherever she arrives ;
She builds our quiet, reforms our lives ;
Lays the rough paths of peevish nature even,
And opens in each heart *a little heaven.*”

But, secondly, *loving words*, as St. Paul advises, speaking the truth in love, (Eph. iv. 15.) Let no corrupt communication proceed out of your mouth ; but that which is good to the use of edifying, that it may minister grace unto the hearers.” (29.) “Let your speech be alway with grace, seasoned with salt, that ye may know how ye ought to answer every man.” (Col. iv. 6.) “For our conversation is in heaven ; from whence we look for the Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body, (Phil. iii. 20, 21) ; and the Apostle James adds, “who is a wise man, and endued with knowledge among you ? let him show out of a good conversation, his works with meekness of wisdom,” (St. James iii. 13) ; and our Lord says. “Let your communication be yea, yea, nay, nay, for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil.”

But, thirdly, *loving actions* give lustre to, and are the growing fruit of a true faith and a loving heart; agreeable to what the beloved disciple saith, "whoso hath the world's good, and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his bowels of compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him? My little children, let us love in deed and in truth," (1 John iii. 17, 18); and again, "blessed are they that do his commandments, that they may have right to the tree of life, and may enter in through the gates into the city," (Rev. xxii. 14.) Also the wise master-builder saith "Be not deceived; God is not mocked: for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap, (Gal. vi. 7); for he that soweth to the flesh, shall of the flesh reap corruption: but he that soweth to the Spirit, shall of the Spirit reap life everlasting." "As we have, therefore, opportunity, let us do good unto all men, especially unto them that are of the household of faith," (chap. vi. 8, 10). How beautiful does our Lord set his seal to this doctrine, when he says unto them on his right hand, "Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world: for I was an hungered, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me in: naked, and ye clothed me: I was sick, and ye visited me: I was in prison, and ye came unto me," (Mat. xxv. 34, 35, 36, 46); these shall go into life eternal. The duty is plain; but in what sense are we to "love our neighbours as ourselves?"—are we to feel equal warmth of affection to all men; are we to use the same freedom of speech, and perform towards all the same acts of love? Must we make every one equal sharers of the comforts and blessings which we enjoy? This cannot be consistent with the dispensations of Providence. The relative duties

of husbands and wives, parents and children, masters and servants, rulers and subjects, ministers and people, demand particular attention ; to relative duties, besides obligations particular people may impose upon themselves ; such as promises, vows, and covenants : as the case of Jonathan and David , or persons travelling to a far country, agreeing to share in each other's prosperity and adversity. In these and various other cases, a particular attention must be paid to the relative stations of different persons. How, then, shall we judge of our love to our neighbour ? I confess I know no better rule, than what our Lord imposed, namely, " Whatsoever ye would men should do to you, do ye even so to them : for this is the law and the prophets " (Mat. vii. 12.) In all difficult cases, suppose yourself in their situation, and them in yours ; and how you would wish they should act towards you, do ye so towards them.

But why must we love our neighbours as ourselves ? Because God commands us so to do. " Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." (See Lev. xix. 18 ; Mat. xxii. 39 ; Gal. v. 14 ; James ii. 8.) But our happiness and usefulness in time, as well as our felicity in eternity, depend much on the performance of this duty. The spirit of love is the most happy temper we can possess ; it sweetens all our labour, and makes " our willing feet in swift obedience move." The devils believe, and tremble too ; but they cannot *love* ; this is a cordial and support under all our burdens and sufferings in life ; and it will not leave us at death.

" This is the grace that lives, and sings,
When faith and hope shall cease :
'Tis this shall strike our joyful strings,
In the sweet realms of peace."

Seeing then that our happiness and usefulness, in time and eternity, so much depend on this duty; let us inquire, *How we may acquire this spirit and practice.*

Consider this duty in all its branches, how reasonable, how profitable it is! how does it advance the dignity of man! But remember, that the love of our neighbour springs from the “love of God shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost given unto us.” He that loveth God, loveth his brother also, (1 John iv. 21.) That you may not come short of this privilege, seek it with your whole heart; in the use of all the means of grace; in private and family, as well as public prayer; hearing the word of God read, or expounded; in the Sacrament, striving to discern the Lord’s body; attending to every branch of domestic and social duty; be fervent and constant in meditation and self-examination; denying yourselves all ungodliness, and taking up your cross daily. That you may be profited by these means of grace, let no sin be indulged,—“bring them all out, and let them be slain before the Lord;” “cease to do evil, learn to do well;” “call to remembrance all the sins you have committed by thought, word, or deed, against God, your neighbour, or your own soul; think what you have caused the Lord Jesus Christ to suffer, that he might redeem your souls from sin, death, and hell; how much your neighbour has been injured by your guilt, and to what you have exposed your own soul! how many duties you have neglected,—how much your heart has been set on things temporal, and how little on things eternal! Consider how short and uncertain life is! how soon death will overtake us! how awful it is to appear before the judgment seat of Christ unprepared!—weep and mourn over your past trans-

gressions, and your present miseries." Consider the purity of God's holy law, how it extends to the thoughts and intents of the heart, and how it curses every one "that continues not in all things which are written in the book of the law to do them;" remember how unable you are to make your own hearts clean, or to atone for one sin; confess your guilt and helplessness; and lay yourself before the throne of mercy, beseeching Almighty God to forgive your manifold transgressions, for the sake of Jesus Christ, your great High Priest. As delays are dangerous, come now; as you cannot grow better by living at a distance from God, come just as you are; believe that God is willing to forgive you all that is past! Plead the merits of Christ's death, as he "died for your sins, and rose again for your justification; the just for the unjust, that he might bring you to God;" wait at the door of mercy, till the Lord, whom ye seek, "shall suddenly come to his temple;" till the love of God is shed abroad in your heart by the Holy Ghost given unto you,—thus will you find "wisdom's ways to be ways of pleasantness, and all her paths paths of peace," and so you will triumph over the sinful course, and spirit of the wicked world: then it will be your "meat and drink to do the will of your Father, who is in heaven." That you may not come short of your duty and highest privilege, pray "that God would sanctify you wholly; and that your whole spirit, and soul, and body may be preserved blameless, unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, knowing that faithful is he that calleth you, who also will do it."

Now behold this holy train of heaven-born, heaven-bound souls, how they rise into glory. As they run their steady course like the sun, that enlightens the world, and enlivens all nature, so, like-

wise, these send forth their enlightening rays, and the moral world is enlightened by the brightness thereof; the wicked are convinced; mourners are encouraged, and the way of life guarded. Their Spirit, like the sun, breathes life into all around, while thousands emerge from darkness and death; and the generations to come shall rise to praise the Lord, who shall be as diadems in their crowns of rejoicing, in that day when the Bridegroom of the Church shall appear and say, "Well done, good and faithful servants, enter ye into the joy of your Lord!" O, what sweetness of Spirit do they enjoy, what peace of conscience, what heavenly transports, what communion with God, what fellowship with the excellent ones of the earth! See how meek, how gentle, how patient, how resigned they are under every dispensation of Providence! how steadfast in faith! Though the earth stagger like a drunken man; though the hills be removed, and the mountains cast into the depth of the sea, yet will they not fear; though they walk through the valley of the shadow of death, yet will they fear no evil, for Thou art with them; thy rod and thy staff will comfort them; could you see them in their closets,—how fervent in Spirit, how open to conviction, how willing to acknowledge their sins and imperfections before the Lord, how ready to amend what appears to be wrong! What little dependence in their works of righteousness! what an entire dependence on the great atonement of Christ; how honest in their dealings! how faithful to their promises! how upright in their walk! how heavenly in their conversations! what respect for the word, house, and ordinances of God! how strict in keeping the Lord's day!

“These are they which follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth,” who are blessed in life, supported in death, confessed, acquitted, owned, and rewarded in the tremendous Day of Judgment! And could you follow them to the regions of glory, and see them invested in their blood-washed linen; when the world, sin, death, hell, and the devil are finally overcome, O what amazing discoveries will open to their view! what displays of redeeming love will be unfolded! from what depths of woe will they be raised! what dangers have they escaped! what straits and difficult paths have they been brought through! and now the full glory of the Lamb adorns the heavenly plain, —O what bursting joys will swell their enraptured souls! O what company, what pleasures, what harmony, what sounds of praise! Hear how they echo, and then eternal wonders open in infinite succession: —but where shall my growing wonders end?—it is enough. “Eye hath not seen, ear hath not heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive what God hath prepared for them that love him.”

But art thou the person? dost thou love thy neighbour as thyself? is “the love of God shed abroad in thy heart, by the Holy Ghost given unto thee?” do loving tempers, words, and actions, witness to all about thee, that thou art heaven-born and heaven-bound? Has no “sin dominion over thee?” art thou meek, patient, and resigned? Hast thou communion with God, and fellowship with the saints? canst thou trust God with all thy concerns? canst thou stand and rejoice in hope of the glory of God? canst thou claim all the promises of the Gospel, as “yea and amen,” to thy believing soul? If so “walk by the same rule;” lose no opportunity of doing good according to thy power; the harvest will

come; "be thou faithful unto death," always abounding in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as our labour in the Lord is not in vain.

And now, I address myself to various classes of people: and first, a word to the *wicked*. O, wicked man, see from what heights of glory thou hast fallen! art thou destitute of the love of God and thy neighbour? what is the opposite temper? is there any medium? canst thou lie neutral in this war? Say then, art thou a hater of God and thy neighbour? what fellowship canst thou have in his company, while thy passions rage with fury, like Cain's, ready to consume thy nearest friends, and rebel against thy God? Thy words are stout against God; and are used to flatter, deceive, or defame thy brother. Thy "feet are swift to shed blood," and tread the broad frequented way that leads to death; thy hands are open to catch the prey, and leave the widow and fatherless in deep distress; thy eyes are roving to the ends of the earth after vanity; thy ears are open to the charms of the world. O vain man! how long wilt thou grasp at shadows? how long wilt thou seek death in the error of thy ways? how wilt thou feel when death lays his cold hands upon thee, and thy blood chills in thy veins? To which of thy companions wilt thou turn? where are all thy comforters fled? But if this is grievous for thee to hear, how wilt thou stand the shock when Gabriel's trumpet wakes the dead, and "small and great stand" before the inexorable Judge? will thy ears be charmed, or thy eyes ravished with the sight, "when the books are opened," and "thou art weighed in the balances?" canst thou bear the thought of being driven to eternal darkness? art thou willing to reap the wages of sin? O look, look well before thou plungest into that abyss of wo! See what a

gulf lies between Dives and Lazarus ! O eternity ! if thou canst not bear eternal torments, lay down the weapons of thy rebellion ; repent of thy sin, and folly, and “ seek the Lord while he may be found ; call upon him while he is near ;” and so iniquity shall not prove thy ruin.

But a word to *formal professors*. You “ thank God that you are not as other men, nor even as this publican ;” you have no pleasure in drinking, dancing, gaming, cheating, sabbath-breaking, swearing, lying, quarrelling, revenge, &c. You delight to read your Bible ; say many prayers ; attend sermons, and sacrament ; can tell what it costs you to support the Church and poor yearly ; and, perhaps, you are not afraid to dispute with any man upon any article of your faith. So far it may be well. But will you substitute this for “ Loving our neighbours as ourselves ?” Know ye not, that “ if you speak with the tongues of men and angels, and have not love, you are become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal ; and though you have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries, and all knowledge : and though you have all faith, so that you could remove mountains, and have not love, you are nothing ; and though you bestow all your goods to feed the poor, and though you give your body to be burned, and have not love, it profiteth you nothing.” O, formal professor ! delay not with the foolish virgins ; but bring thy filthy garments to “ the blood of sprinkling, and wash in the laver of regeneration,” and trust in Him that has said, “ except I wash thee, thou hast no part in me.” Lay thy works, thy sins, and thy soul at Jesus’ feet ; plead the merit of his death for thy justification ; rely upon the purifying operation of the Holy Ghost for thy sanctification, and the graces

and the fruit of the Spirit for thy inward and outward adornment ; then shalt thou say with the poet,

“ Bold shall I stand in thy great day,
For who aught to my charge shall lay ?
Jesu, thy blood and righteousness,
My beauty, are my glorious dress : *
’Midst flaming worlds, in these arrayed,
With joy shall I lift up my head.”

But a word to the *backslider*,—whether in heart, lip, or life. Remember “from whence thou art fallen ;” thou hast turned thy back upon the vanities of a wicked world, with its sinful customs and practices ; thou hast felt the horrors of a guilty conscience, and hast experienced the pangs of the new birth ; thou “hast tasted of the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come, and hast been a partaker of the Holy Ghost ;” thou wast happy in God ; a light in a benighted world, and bid fair for eternal life ; but how is it now ? is thy fine gold become dim ? hast thou lost thy first love ? is the throne of grace as brass to thy prayers ? are thy comforts fled ? has thy beloved withdrawn the smiles of his reconciled countenance ? hast thou lost sight of glory ? hast thou let in the spirit of the world ? Art thou seeking comfort in the company, pleasures, riches, or honours of this world ? will these satisfy thy immortal soul ? O stop, and view what awaits apostatizing Spirits ! canst thou bear the vengeance of eternal fire to be poured out on thy apostate soul in one eternal storm ? If not, turn again unto him from whom thou hast so deeply revolted ! But art thou ready to say, ‘there is not hope, it is too late ; I have sinned against light ; God will no more be intreated by such a rebel as me ; I fear that I have

committed the unpardonable sin ; and that my sin is unto death.' Well, poor soul, thou canst but be lost ! but how dost thou know what God will do for thee ? canst thou measure the depth of divine mercy ? dost thou know the virtue of that blood that cleanses from all sin ? canst thou tell how far the all-prevailing merits and mediation of our great High Priest may extend towards thee ? Oh, make trial once more ; enter into covenant with the God of thy salvation ; that if "he will heal thy backslidings, thou wilt love him with all thy heart, and serve him with all thy strength." Use the form and seek the power of godliness ; take courage, plead the promises ; and "be not faithless, but believing." "The Lord is long suffering, not willing that any should perish ;" plead the mercy of God. Thou art out of hell ! if thou art a condemned sinner, yet thou art not a damned ghost ; if sunk into sin, thou art not shut up in the bottomless abyss of unquenchable fire ! yet the door of mercy is open. "While thou hast breath, call upon the name of the Lord ;" why should a living man complain ? how much better is thy state than that of the rich man on the other side of the gulf ? Only "acknowledge thy backslidings, and turn unto me, saith the Lord, and I will heal thy backslidings, and love thee freely !" (Hosea xiv. 5.) "If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the Righteous ; and he is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world." "Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world !" See him pleading thy cause before the throne of love.

"The Father hears him pray ;
His dear anointed one ;
He cannot turn away
The presence of his Son ;
The Spirit answers to the blood.
And tells me I am born of God."

And now I commend you to God, and to the word of his grace, who is able to build you up, and to give you an inheritance among them that are sanctified. Now unto Him that is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think, according to the power that worketh in us; unto Him be glory in the Church, by Jesus Christ, throughout all ages, world without end! Amen.

A Poem found among Mr. Whatcoat's Writings.

Fair Salem, the seat of I AM; the region where
pleasures do grow,
The grove where contentment doth reign,
Where transports for ever do flow;
When shall I remove to thy joys,
When shall I behold them in full?
Thy glories my bosom do warm!
All earth is but heavy and dull.

When, Jesus, will sighs be all over?
When shall I to earth bid adieu?
When shall I 'midst angels rise?
And all thy bright ravishments view?
See how I'm encompassed about
With trouble, temptations, and wo;
Mark how I my banishment mourn,
And how I mourn home for to go.

This region 's insipid and dry,
There 's nothing my joys to increase;
My craving all centred in God,
And only in him have I peace.
I burn with contempt for the world,
I spurn all its pleasure and store;
While God, and his ways, and his word
I choose to be mine evermore.

O could I this moment depart,
And with my Redeemer arise
From earth and its sorrows, my heart
For ever with angels shall live,
The fields of ambrosia to walk.
These plains of ineffable sweets,
The streams of salvation to drink,
And shout as I pass through thy streets.

Portrait of Bishop Whatcoat, &c.

Bishop Whatcoat's personal appearance was interesting : so much so, as to invite and please the good and wise. The form of his body was competently genteel and grave : his soul comprehensive, vigorous, noble, great, and active. His presence and aspect smooth and pleasant, yet solemn,—often striking reverence and awe into the minds and deportment of such as looked upon him, especially when exercising the offices of his function.

I may say of him, as was said of Basil, “ that so much divine Majesty and lustre appeared in him, it made the wicked tremble to behold ;” and, in like manner, this most exact and holy man's solemn deportment was such as to command respect. In him were seen majesty and love—well expressed by the following lines :—

“ Shall I not again on earth behold
That countenance, so grave, so bold,
Which, with a look, could daunt the face of sin,
And make offence to hide itself within ?
Most perfect image of the God above !
Without was majesty, within was love ;
One drawn with sweetness by an infant's hand,
Not driven by violence, or base command.”

His whole deportment was so beautiful and adorned with personal graces, that of him may be said, as of one of the old Puritans, “ *He was made of love.*”

His amiable, heavenly, and courteous carriage was such, as to make him the delight of his acquaintance, and to prepare them for the reception of his counsels and reproofs. His compassion for mankind in a lost condition—his acts of charity to those in want—his tenderness for such as were culpable—his affectionate language and deportment in the exercise of his ministry especially—and his love—were set forth in his ardent longings after the souls of his

hearers. His rejoicing in their spiritual prosperity—his bleedings and heart-breakings for their backslidings—his labours among them, both public and from house to house—his frequent and affectionate letters to them when absent—his earnest desire to spend and be spent for them,—always evinced what share they had in his affection. He was a man of fortitude : he appeared to fear no danger when duty was plain (as his labours and troubles showed,) believing that he who walks uprightly, walks safely, though he “ pass through the valley and shadow of death.” He feared not the face of man ; but where there was just occasion, he would boldly admonish and faithfully reprove what he saw amiss ; but with so much prudence, and with such expressions of love and tenderness, as made way to their hearts, and rendered his work successful in winning souls to his heavenly Master.

Bishop Whatcoat was a man of peace, and a great peace-maker among his brethren where dissensions arose from want of understanding, or from want of sober and peaceable principles. He had a reverend esteem for the laws of the country, abhorring all insolent expressions or mutinous actions, keeping by him a copy of the laws of the State where his labours were directed—so that he might not violate them in any of his sacred functions (whereby the Gospel might be blamed) : therefore he kept a manuscript of the municipal laws, so that he might know how to act in every place, and keep himself unspotted in the world. He was a great lover of truth and righteousness in his own practice, and a great presser of them on his hearers, especially upon religious professors, exhorting them to be just in all their doings, and true in their words ; to be cautious in promising, and punctual in performing ; sharply reproofing promise-breakers and deceitful dealing.

He was anxious for the conversion of sinners, and for the success of the Gospel. To promote this end he poured out his soul in prayer and preaching. He imparted not only the word, but himself, as it were, to his hearers. His supplications and exhortations were so affectionate, so full of holy zeal and power, as to greatly move his auditors, and melt his congregation into tears and penitential sorrow, not by vain repetitions, crude expressions, unintelligible sense, or mysterious nonsense in place of prayer. His spirit was serious—his gesture reverent—his words well suited, well weighed, pithy, solid, and truly expressive of his truly humble and fervent desire after the things he asked. He was nigh to God, as became a creature overawed by the Majesty of his Creator. He prayed with the spirit and understanding, with faith, fervency, and humble importunity—his affections working, but rationally as well as strongly; by which he prevailed with his Redeemer, and on his hearers: because they found it to be exactly the habitual and constant frame of his mind; for he was always composed, serious, and grave. He set God always before him; and, wherever he was, he laboured to walk as in his presence. His main design in all things was, to study to “show himself approved of God, the Father, who seeth in secret and rewardeth openly;” and to keep a conscience void of offence both to God and man. Much of his time he spent in private devotion and converse with Christ and his own soul, delighting in secret prayer and retirement, when opportunity offered, that he might freely use his voice to his heavenly Father.

His deportment was such, as if at every moment he saw Christ, and had God’s law, his own conscience, and covenant with the Holy Spirit, and the day of Judgment before his eyes.

When he awoke in the night he was in meditation or prayer, exulting and praising God, like St. Paul and Silas, speaking to himself in spiritual songs, making melody in his heart with grace.

This holy man was sent to the church as if a sample, to show to what a life of peace and holiness Christians may attain on earth, where sincerity, privation, diligence, watchfulness, love of divine communion, and humble and active faith do meet and centre.

My first journey with him was over the Alleghany mountains to the frontiers of Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. I found him so fixed in the ways of God, that nothing could disengage him, or move his patience, so as to make him murmur in the least degree. He was not wearied with fatigue of riding, or of preaching, so as to make him abate his private devotions; but after lecturing and praying several times a day in public, on retiring, he poured out his soul before he laid his body to rest; by which means he was ever ready to sound forth the high praises of his gracious Redeemer, at all times and on all occasions. His tours through the back woods were very dangerous; the Indians were not then at peace with the United States, but remained hostile, and made frequent incursions, and destroyed many families, as well as single persons, whenever they met them; so that some whom he preached to and baptized, in those parts, were killed and scalped a few weeks after. I think not less than seventy were miserably mangled and killed within one year and a half, in and about their own houses.

Mr. Whatcoat appeared to be the same at all times, and under all circumstances;—to be as calm in the wilds as in the cultivated fields—in the smoky cabin as in the carpeted parlour—amidst the cla-

meurs of untoward children, where he was detained during the mountain storm, or flood of rain, that had raised the rivers so that they could not be forded.

His voluntary labours and travels in America proved his strong attachment to the Redeemer's cause and an itinerant life. He refused honour, worldly gain, and worldly pleasure, which were strewed at his feet. He refused all, and preferred feeding the lambs of Jesus Christ, and calling sinners to repentance, to all the glories of the world. Forasmuch as the people who wished to be saved by hearing were scattered thinly through the country, to supply them with the word of life required a man to labour and travel in summer's sun and winter's frost, so that the people might not perish for lack of knowledge. Wearing himself out to give light and heat unto others, he allowed himself little rest; he rose at five in the morning, wherever he was, even in winter, that (first having communed with his Sovereign) he might be early at his studies, and well prepared to declare the accepted time of the Lord, and the day of salvation. His moderation was known to all who knew him. In all things he showed himself a pattern in piety, in doctrine, and zeal,—yet not rigid in his principles. He held that separation was sometimes necessary from known corruptions in church or state; but, allowed not separation from a church, except compliance with some evil was made the condition of membership.

Such mental qualities prepared him for useful life, having learned of Him who was meek and lowly of heart. He appeared to enjoy the abiding witness of the Holy Spirit, and that rest to his soul promised by Jesus Christ, which he so pressingly recommended to others, by precept as well as example. Mr. Whatcoat was a man whose judgment was to be

trusted, and whose counsel was deliberated, caring for the peace and prosperity of the whole church militant here on earth. Such patterns and such counsellors were much needed at the time, to keep up a good understanding with the Rev. J. Wesley and his children in the United States. It was so, that when prosperity began to be seen in the newly formed Church of America, that some of her preachers, being honoured with the title of *Reverend*, began to think more highly of themselves than they ought to do ; began to think of reforming the liturgy, doctrine, and discipline given by the reverend founder of Methodism. John Wesley justly claimed the supreme rule and power of the ministers and members, according to the form of government given to the Church of America, and cordially received, namely *moderate episcopacy*, which is defined by the best authorities, to be supreme rule and jurisdiction. None of Wesley's preachers could ask with any degree of consistency, "How John Wesley came by such rule, and such power, or jurisdiction?" for all his preachers introduced themselves, in Wesley's name, using his forms, doctrine, and rules. The people who joined, were initiated into society as Wesley directed ; he was the rector of the parish—all his preachers were curates and assistants to him in Europe and America ; *he* took upon himself to bear their reproach ; all their weaknesses in the Christian course and ministry were charged upon Wesley. He led them out and in, at his own expense and character, so that he had to say, "who is offended and I feel not?" He was their supreme ruler under Jesus Christ ; his rules were the landmarks, the stones raised between him and his children—a book of appeal, to which preachers and people were to resort,

who called themselves Methodists. Yet, after an understanding the most correct on the subject of government, the murmurings of some Radicals were heard in Conference.—Conference was usually held in May, and Dr. Coke formed his plans accordingly; but it was altered, the year before, to June or July, at which time, Dr. Coke, on account of his engagements in the West Indies, could not attend; so he had to call it at the time it had formerly been held, having some directions from Mr. Wesley to give the Conference; in which directions, Richard Whatcoat was nominated a third superintendent: this, together with the calling of the Conference sooner than the appointed time, were made serious difficulties. But there is a time to every purpose under the sun, and some men are disposed to avail themselves of it. One ventured to say that Mr. Wesley took a great deal on him—yea, too much to be borne with by Americans; that he might increase his impositions, if his power were not checked; it might grow enormous—yea, even to Popery.

A motion was made to remove his name from the minutes: now the minutes used to be by questions and answers.—“Who are the superintendents of our Church?” *Ans.* “John Wesley, Thomas Coke, and Francis Asbury.” After his name was removed, the answer would be “Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury.” The motion to remove his name, having a second, was debated, and carried in the affirmative. They soon turned their attention to his son Coke, supposing his jurisdiction an imposition, as he would still possess the supreme rule, and it was feared he would abuse that power. To prevent the abuse of it, was talked of in a desultory and in a menacing way, till Dr. Coke, to free them from their fears, or pretended fears, said he would relin-

quish his power as superintendent, so far as it respected supreme jurisdiction and supreme rule; and that he would claim no authority, but to preside when Conference did convene: so he consented to become a mere moderator, rather than have his name left off the minutes. Seeing they had prevailed so far, some asked more than his word, so he gave them his bond for the fulfilment of his promise to such as wished it.*

Every thing was now to be carried by the spouting and whirl of a party. The sound part were in the minority, and were fixed in favour of established usages. Therefore, the majority were the schismatics, as they frequently have been in the Church of Christ in all ages past.

The friends of the patriarch Wesley sat down like men astonished, and in whose mouth there was no reproof, among whom was Bp. Whatcoat, knowing that the servant of God must not strive, but be gentle, even towards such as oppose. One wondered at his patience, and apologized for his not opposing the measure more violently;—to whom he replied, “I thank you for your apology for my sitting by, when iniquitous acts were passed; but why should I throw myself into the sea to calm the wind.”

* “I do solemnly engage by this instrument, that I never will, by virtue of my office of Superintendent of the Methodist Church in the United States of America, exercise any government whatsoever in the said Methodist Church, during my absence from the said United States. And I do also engage that I will exercise no government or privilege in the said Church, when present in the United States, except that of ordaining according to the regulations and laws already existing, or hereafter to be made in the said Church, and that of presiding when present in the Conferences, and lastly, that of travelling at large. Given under my hand, the 2d of May, in the year 1787.

“THOMAS COKE.

“Witnesses;—JOHN TUNNELL,
“JOHN HAGGERTY,
“NELSON REED.”

It was thought and said by a man of warm passions, that Mr. Asbury was favourable to the opinions of the majority,—yea, that the spirit of Oliver Cromwell was in him. He who said so, withdrew from the Methodist Episcopal Church, and wrote to Mr. Wesley, giving the matter colouring enough, for he appeared to be much disgusted with the refractory majority. Perhaps his letter reached Mr. Wesley before the minutes reached him, or Dr. Coke could see him: and when the minutes came to his hand, it confirmed all tending to grieve him, before Dr. Coke could let him know what was the mind of the honourable majority. Some of his friends said he had trusted Francis Asbury too far, and had done amiss in granting his authority to his society in America to become a Church in the abstract.

In this time of trial, Mr. Wesley wrote to his son, Richard Whatcoat, as follows,

“Dear Brother,

“It was not well judged of Brother Asbury, to *suffer*, much less indirectly to encourage, the foolish step in the last Conference. Every preacher present ought, both in duty and in prudence, to have said, ‘Brother Asbury, Mr. Wesley is your father, consequently ours;’ candour will affirm this in the face of the world.

“It is highly probable, the disallowing *me* will, as soon as my head is laid, occasion a total breach between the English and American Methodists. They will naturally say, ‘If they can do without us, we can do without them.’ But they would find a greater difference than they imagine. Next would follow a separation among themselves.

“ Well, whoever may disagree to-morrow, let you and I live to-day. I am,

“ Dear Richard,

“ Your affectionate friend and brother,

“ J. WESLEY.”

This was a time of trial with many who laid it to heart. It was to be feared that part would continue a society, or form again under Mr. Wesley, independent of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America. Others, having seen their way clear to enter fully into the ministry, and having administered the ordinances to many, under the direction of Mr. Wesley, in the name of the Holy Trinity, and thought it not sacrilege, dared not think of relinquishing the authority. Many felt like being scattered, when the shepherd had received so heavy a blow from his friends. For the division “ of Reuben ” there was great searching of hearts. Br. Whatcoat’s opinion and counsel were sought by many, as will appear from the letters left among his papers, and his replies.

“ Dear Sir,

“ I have looked over thine, which I received last Sabbath, as no answer was asked. I show thee a more excellent way : when men revile you and persecute you, and say all manner of evil of you falsely, for Christ’s sake, ‘ rejoice, and be exceeding glad ; for great is your reward in heaven.’ ‘ Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example that we should follow his steps ; who, when he was reviled, reviled not again ; when he suffered, threatened not ; but committed himself to Him that judgeth righteously.’

“ ‘ Blessed is the man that endureth temptation ; for when he is tried, he shall receive the crown of

life, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, hath promised to them that love Him.' Thy soul is more to thee than all the Churches in the world, and the government of thy spirit, than all the disputes in Church and State !

"Need I ask thee, whether thy soul is as happy as it was before the separating Spirit was raised ? 'As to myself, I thank God that I am what I am.—May heavenly wisdom guide us through this world to the blissful regions of bright eternity.

Shall I say thine, the least of all the saints,

R. WHATCOAT."

In this time of troubles and disputes, it was, that Dr. Coke thought of forming an union with the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, as his fears had increased from common report ; it was said that Mr. Asbury had said, "that Mr. Wesley was like Cæsar, *he could admit no equal* ; and that he was like Pompey, would know no superior." These and the like reports in circulation had a tendency to make Mr. Asbury appear as a factious man, seeking his own glory at the expense of as virtuous characters as his own ; having a desire to bury them before they were dead ; so as to appear himself the only Father of the Methodists in America. Such were the opinions of some of the preachers in America, and the assertions of some in England ; which Mr. Asbury remarked in his farewell address, and may be seen in Moore's Life of Wesley ; but the friends of Mr. Asbury believed these censures unfounded and unjust ; and that those who made such assertions had not judged righteously. Nevertheless, the standing of the Methodist ministers was very uncertain ; as there was no ground of a

hope for support for themselves or families, if they were not able to labour and toil continually ; but that they must return to some worldly employment, was the only prospect for the aged and worn-down minister, as soon as they could not do efficient duty as itinerants. Dr. Coke foresaw this, and felt sensibly on the occasion ; and, had his income been sufficient, no worn-out preacher, widow, or orphan need to have been afraid of want, or his family suffering. His charity was diffuse ; his death proved his zeal for the cause of Christ.* He was willing to make every sacrifice for the interest of the Redeemer, and such men as had left their all to preach his gospel. With these warm feelings, and under the impression that the cause of the Redeemer might be advanced through the doctrine revived and preached by Wesley and his preachers,—he proposed a junction with a friendly bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America, knowing that Episcopacy could be no other than moderate in the United States. He feared a deviation from the form would lead to confusion and fanaticism. Another reason might have been thought of by Dr. Coke, in his proposed union with the Protestant Episcopal Church in America,—that of a more general spread of the Gospel ; Dr. Coke had passed several times through the States, from Georgia to New-York ; he had seen much of that district of country, laid out in parishes, and a church and glebe to every parish ; all which, or nearly all, were without ministers, or even supplies. The Church property was not then sold by a legislative act ; nor never would have been, if they had been occupied ; for it was through some difficulty,

* He died in the Indian Ocean, leading out Missionaries to the Indian Indians.

that an act was obtained to sell the churches in Virginia, and to put the money into the treasury ; therefore the sooner they were occupied, the better for their security. It would certainly have been so. For, as by Providence those fine buildings had been set apart for divine service, it was just that they should be kept sacréd, not be left a rendezvous for bats and boys, and finally sold as bricks and timber. Many spacious brick buildings (especially the nearest church to General Washington's house) were sold as public property, with the land round them. Now, if it causeth a sigh to hear this, how much more, to know that the men whom the adorable Redeemer had in a special manner qualified, and sent to preach the word of life, and to bind up the broken-hearted, should be obliged to leave the word of God, on account of poverty and family concerns : all which Dr. Coke foresaw would certainly take place, if something was not done to prevent it. The Virginian Conference was desired to join in a petition to the legislature for the sale of the unoccupied churches, some time before the act passed ; but always refused. Some of our most distinguished ministers had been obliged to locate, and, of course, to leave their charges as ministers, and take care of a family of children, or an old father or mother. The plan laid by Dr. Coke might have prevented all these things, and many more, according to human probability ; and might have been a lasting blessing to many generations, by establishing that excellent doctrine of the Remonstrants. There was, in all the southern states, much to invite such an union. The same articles, the same creed, the same baptism, the same liturgy, the same faith, the same people, engaged to build up the old waste places. Dr. Coke had the *experienced* men, and the Protestant Church the means. But

Dr. Coke, though an intrepid man, was soon diverted from this purposed union. After he had gotten all his papers ready, and showed them to one of the preachers, on *his* saying it would grieve Mr. Asbury and some others, he destroyed them, and gave up his intentions at once ; not that he thought it would be a crime, or a renunciation of his former consecration, even to be consecrated by the bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church on this occasion ;* for if valid baptism was not thought invalid by being repeated, nor a sacrilegious renunciation of what had been before performed, neither might a reordination be thought a renouncing of former ordination. But since then, these things have been much controverted, and settled in a different point of light from what they were viewed at that day : to do good was the design of good men at all risks ; but the right way is to be preferred at all times, that the good may not be evil spoken of.

After Dr. Coke's departure for Europe, his contemplated union with the Protestant Episcopal Church was used to his great disadvantage. The preacher to whom he opened his mind on the subject, informed Mr. Asbury ; which, with the letter Mr. Wesley sent to Mr. Whatcoat, gave Mr. Asbury much grief, dejection, and sorrow ; but he was not neglected by his old friend Whatcoat, who was with him in all his troubles, so that his bow abode in strength, and he continued to superintend the work through the country, and to encourage the young preachers in the work of the Lord : and to hear and settle all their troubles to the utmost of his power, often supplying their wants by sparing them some of

* In the minutes of 1734, Dr. Coke thought good to repeat baptism for conscience' sake.

his clothes, or by selling the watch out of his pocket, to help a preacher forward in the work.

The poverty of the Methodist Episcopal Church—the wants of the preachers—the calls for preaching in destitute districts of this newly-settled country, at that time without any Missionary funds ;—the minister, who would go, must beg his way, and trust for his reception, after he got there ; if the Lord Jesus did not cause him to find friends, by touching their hearts, he must be friendless as well as pennyless. He could not say, “I am a Baptist, or I am a Presbyterian, I am a Quaker, or I am a Churchman ; I claim something from you, as your fathers were of our religion ;” but “I am a Wesleyan Methodist ; please to hear me, and, if you don’t like my doctrine, tell me so ; and I will go from among you peaceably, if you will let me.”—In this time of trouble and trial, to meet Bishop Whatcoat, who was deeply experienced in these trials ; who, when a youth, in the mountains of Wales, or among the poor in Ireland, had so met Wesley, who had taught him to do and suffer the will of God as a good soldier ;—to spend a few days in his company, and to hear the dealings of the Saviour, and the comfort he had found in the smiling of the barren wilderness ;—and to see him still on the same errand of love ; in the bushes and trees seeking that which was lost ; ready to spend and be spent in the same good old way,—was truly exhilarating. He was also an excellent moderator in the heads of departments, as well as a comfort to the tender-minded. He soothed the sorrows of Mr. Asbury, and removed the suspicions from our European fathers ; so that by his means, and the good conduct and integrity of Mr. Asbury, the sore was healed effectually, and “friends at first were friends at last.”

Prosperity having dawned a little upon the Church, and the work of God being increased, and many ready to say, "Come over, and help us; give us a preacher to be stationed in our city; we will amply provide for him; he may have nothing to do but walk from his study to his pulpit," much attention was paid to the Bishop, who had the appointment; he had favourites who were great friends to the episcopate, but not so to episcopacy: these were the presiding Elders, whose counsel was, to have a Council, instead of a Conference; who, already having charge over many circuits, or stationed in some town, were considered as his eyes, his ears, his hands, &c., as he had exalted them above their brethren; and as they served him, they expected to make him serve them, and to form a confederated government, or aristocracy, in the end.

Accordingly, the first council met at Cokesbury College, by the appointment of the Superintendent; and, after sitting several days, broke up without any one being nominated as diocesan bishop, which was very much desired by some who attended the council, whose names I forbear: they concluded the next council should meet by election of the several annual Conferences. So one of these men of honour, who was at first champion for the council, found fault with it, took advantage of its weaker part, and renounced it in his district entirely. It was then known that an union could not continue, except a general Conference should be rendered permanent by a constitutional act.

Another general Conference was convened by the universal consent of the ministers and superintendents, where no superiority was known, except what was acknowledged in the superintendent, in what

was considered moderate episcopacy. But, as might be expected, men who had a district superiority so recently, and were expected to have the same charge as soon as general Conference should end, and all the authority of a superintendent, were feared, as well as loved, by the subordinate Elders ; and, especially as they had (some at least) the entire confidence of the superintendent. One of these confidential men, having used his influence among the preachers of his district, came prepared to effect a change in the doctrine and discipline ; which change had a tendency to subvert episcopacy as recommended and enforced by the great patriarch of the society ; and to establish an aristocratic form of government, under the specious name of Republicans. It appeared he had made his preachers acquainted with his purposes, while he had the charge over the greatest district in the Union ; many of whom came prepared to defend his new design. On opening it, there was great diversity of opinion, which was expressed with many fears to know whereunto such radical change would go.

Richard Whatcoat could then see how unsafe it was to exalt one above another in the Church of Christ, especially as it is forbidden in Scripture. The experiment has been tried more than once, but always with loss. It is always time enough to give a good man a character, or preach or print his life, when he has ended it well ; to prevent too much of a drawback, good men should know that some men's sins may follow after :—they may be esteemed highly, but not too highly. Many were at a loss to know whether to keep to old usages and old directions, or to follow that great new light, who, for what they knew, was raised up to reform Mr. Wesley's reformation, and set all right which was not so.

Mr. O'Kelley's piety was not doubted ;—his plan pleasing—his doctrine adapted to reason :—a republic in appearance, though aristocratic in its operation ; a bishop, to keep up appearances, as the Hindoos have gods, to make them do as they please—as atheists would have laws, to keep the vulgar in awe ;—so a bishop, to post round from place to place, and do what his superiors, the Conference, should bid him—read off the appointments at the end of the Conference : if he pleased his sovereigns, all would be well, if not, all must be revoked !

The doctrine proposed was all in favour with worldly policy, but at war with the first verse of the Bible, which announces a plurality in the Divine Essence (*Elohim.*) But the notions of this prime presiding Elder did not appear so just to those who had to submit to be ruled, as convenient to those who intended to rule, and to act what they judged best ; for while it pleased such as intended to make laws, and execute them, it did not appear so just to those who were sincere followers of that which was good—to have a power created over them reverse from what they had subscribed to ; and, as Baxter has said, to promise to obey some power without rule, from which there would be no appeal. Obey us, or “ to your tents,” without asking if the appointment was in spite or spleen.

The eyes and ears of many at that time were again to Richard Whatcoat ; they knew him to be a friend to the Church of Christ, and a good Wesleyan—a man of judgment and experience. He was unshaken ; and, therefore, these new plans were defeated ; and this presiding Elder returned to his large district in the garden spot of Virginia, summoned a confabulation, and publicly renounced the Wesleyan Coke-and-Asbury plan ; set up a church, which

was called Republican Methodist; ruled in the midst of his preachers; and set up to harangue and brand others with tyrannizing over people's consciences, warning every one to flee, or come out from among such usurpers!

This had a direct tendency to raise opposition and a great declension in the minds of some who had been in the habit of hearing him, and others who went with him as with the messengers of Christ, for years; whose labours had been so abundantly successful, having acted as nursing fathers; had been so highly spoken of, and so confidently trusted by his friend Bishop Asbury—so suddenly to oppose, and call all dupes and sycophants who did not leave him, was a true picture of *human* friendship!

There had been an appearance of a great work of the Lord in that part of Virginia, but a short time before this took place; the account of it astonished our patriarch in Europe, and he had written to his friend and son Richard, as follows,—

“The work (*of the Lord*) in Virginia far exceeds any thing I have heard or read of, since the primitive times! There seems to be a general expectation of great things in the Church of God throughout our connection in these kingdoms. You, my brother, I trust, are all alive to bring sinners to Jesus Christ; and to spend, and be spent in the glorious cause of the Anointed. O, 'tis worth living for!

“Give my love to the preachers in your district.

“Your Brother in Christ,

“J. WESLEY.”

This great work was retarded by that controversy among the preachers. Some thought the reformers were right in their demands; others not; and some

more deliberate, went on in the old way, without filling their sermons with defamation; for they saw too much of man in all this—too much animal heat,—and that it was like to shake the faith of the young beginners, if no more. But that was not all; some grew prayerless and faithless, and finally apostatized; and, upon their death bed, lamented the unhappy division, from which they dated their backslidings.

The ill effects were soon seen by both sides; but to whom to lay it was not agreed upon; nor is it yet decided by some, who was the real author of that division.

Some would indirectly lay it to Francis Asbury's overgrown power, and his ambition to keep it; that he would let all fall to pieces, rather than give up *his power*. Now, whatever power *he* possessed in the Church was not his in fee-simple; but in fee-tail it belonged to them who gave it to him in trust, to use, and not abuse; nor render it up but to those who ceded it to him by their appointment and suffrages;—and how could he give up what he was trusted with? Old land-marks must not be moved suddenly, nor without the consent of all parties concerned. The porter must not open the door, but at the request of the owner, right or wrong: he must be under rule, who rules others.

At that time the superintendent needed a friend: he had a substantial one in Whatcoat, whose counsel was always wise, and ready to answer such as should ask a reason; all thought him a safe man—a uniform Christian—one who would be far from any thing which would cause or keep up a needless strife. He was addressed by many on the subject of the controversy: his answers were ever mild, and full of counsel on all occasions. The man of God is seen

in his writings and letters, as witnesseth this answer to some severe animadversions of one of the disaffected :—

“ Dear Brother,

“ The ninth of this month I received yours of the fourth of January ; I thank you for the freedom you take in expressing your mind to me, and admire the confidence you place in me, as appears from the proposals you make. I hope I shall always give you some cause to look upon me as your friend and brother in the good cause of religion ; I should be sorry to wound or grieve you in any measure ; but why such haste, my brother ? did you come to this part of the world, purely to recover your health ? or did you come to reform our Church ? If the former, hath not Providence blessed the means ? If the latter, why did you not expostulate with our Conference on the subject ? It appears to me that we have more need to unite all our forces, and use all our ability to unite, build up, and strengthen those who do stand ; also to purge the floor, than to make rents in the body ; it is easier to make a breach, than to mend one ; it is easier to separate than to unite.

“ As to our seceding from Methodism, or Wesleyanism, I bless God that we have not seceded further than we have ;—as to Methodism, I trust we retain the essential part.

“ As to my sitting by, tamely consenting to iniquitous acts, (referring to the Conference where Mr. Wesley’s name was left out of the minutes) I thank you for your apology ; but why should I throw myself into the sea to calm the wind ?

“ It is one thing to feel the wind pierce you ; and another, cordially to consent to it. As to the cruel-

ties (if they may be called so) that I have met with, they are not worthy to be named, when compared to the blessings I have received.

“ I bless God, I have not had an hour’s uneasiness since I left Europe, about coming to this part of the world ; I bless God, I am perfectly willing to spend the few days I have to labour, in the connection I am joined with.

“ My dear brother, while we see diabolical spirits in others, and inveteracies thrown out, let us take heed that they do not enter into us. May the good Lord bless you with the mind that was in Christ.

“ So prays your sincere brother,

“ RICHARD WHATCOAT.”

Where the faithful preachers, or members, saw Bishop Whatcoat, there they thought they might safely venture to go ; all who knew him had implicit confidence in him, as a man whose counsel was always correct ; as the oracle of truth was his guide, and dwelt richly in him. When he left a place, he was followed by letters which made him glad in the Lord ; and gave him an opportunity of writing consolatory epistles ; he was truly a pastor to the flock of Christ.

Among his papers we have a letter from one of the first worthies of Baltimore, and one of the first merchants.

“ Dear Brother,

“ After my love to you, I make free to inform you how we go on ; our congregations are large and solemn ; our prayer-meetings are lively and profitable ; the people are in a flame of love and zeal.

“ At four o’clock in the morning they meet, and

continue till daylight; last Sabbath evening, Mr. Willis proposed to as many as had a desire to join our society, to give in their names, when thirty males and females joined in the presence of thousands; and gave in their names, and witnessed a good confession.

“May the God that made me, make me thankful.

“Your Friend,

“JESSEY HOLLINGSWORTH, Sen.”

Mr. Hollingsworth was one who attended Mr. Whitfield's preaching; one of the first that joined Mr. Wesley's Missionaries in Baltimore; raised an honourable family; lived a Methodist or an Israelite indeed, beloved of all who knew him, a sincere servant of Christ to the last—a finished character. “Let me die the death of the righteous, and my last end be like his.”

A letter from Baltimore, about the same time, and from an old disciple of Wesley, and an early and useful minister of Christ, reads as follows:

“Reverend and dear Brother,

“These few lines come to inform you how matters appear at present in the part under my care. At this time the prospect seems pleasing; I think the work is going on; our congregations are large, and the people very attentive; the professors alive to God. Some sinners have lately found peace with the Redeemer; and others are ready to claim Jesus for their Saviour. We met on New Year's eve, at nine o'clock, to watch and pray while the old year went out and the new one came in. The Lord condescended to visit us! Several were “born again” (or from a voice) as the year commenced with us! I trust this was a token for good, that God will be

with us, as he was last year, and much more abundantly: I am,

“Ever your’s in Christ,
“JOHN HAGERTY.”

From the class leaders, trustees, &c. of the City of New-York :

“Reverend and dear Sir,

“We congratulate you on the happy event which has taken place since your departure from our city. The time appears to be come to favour this part of Zion; as instructed by you, we have expected and prayed for a revival of religion, and the Lord in mercy hath heard our request, and the request of those who asked in our behalf; and hath poured out his Spirit on the inhabitants of this city: and many have looked to Him who was pierced, and have mourned. We have reason to believe that one hundred and fifty have been justified since the first of the month, and many others renewed in love.

“We subscribe our names in behalf of the Society,

“Your sons in the Gospel of the Redeemer,

“A. R., P. I. A., J. S., J. B., A. B., J. D.”

It was now clearly seen to all who were able to contrast the success of the Wesleyan Episcopacy with that of those who thought and practised a revolution, that it was the most safe, and would be attended with the most success, to adhere strictly to the direction, doctrine, order, and discipline of the Rev. John Wesley, and as received by the societies under his charge in the United States, in the first general Conference. All that was to be feared was a departure from them, as we had no restriction or

check upon the general Conference ; and some thought that body had unlimited, or sole power over superintendents, preachers, and people ;—that power they expected would obtain when a majority could be found of that opinion : and as they believed sole power was with the Elders, (having left Wesley out of the question, and paralyzed Dr. Coke) there was only Francis Asbury in the way of having an episcopacy of straw, which might be used as the household gods of ancient times,—honoured and abused at pleasure ; set up and put down as they chose.

But at the general Conference of 1796, (Dr. Coke then present) it was urged, that episcopacy be then strengthened by the addition of another bishop, who might help Francis Asbury, while he lived ; and, if he became inefficient, or died, to take his place : for though there could be no doubt of Dr. Coke's readiness to come to our help, if the Conference should send for him ; yet there were doubts whether the Conference would consent to receive him, after the overtures he had made to Dr. White, bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Pennsylvania. Some said they thought it a wicked attempt ; and were not willing to admit that it was for the best, nor to take circumstances into the account. To bring things to an issue, it was moved, that one more be added to the episcopacy.

It was opposed, by way of interrogatories, by one in favour of parity :—"Are we to have a trinity of British bishops ? will it be safe to have many heads to one body?"

This was explained, by saying that it was not expected that there could be more than one head to one body ; but, as in all well organized bodies, it was common to have a president and vice-president, —one or more in order and succession—so was the

motion. A reply from the same part of the house was made by way of irony :—"I understand it to be as a father and mother in a family ; so that if dady should die, mammy may take his place, and rule the children ?"

From that reply it was easy to be gathered what was to be expected, if the superintendency were to be vacated by death or otherwise. For the Rev. Mr. Lee was a man of weight in Conference ; his piety and labours had procured him many friends, an audience in Conference, and among the people.

It was plain that Richard Whatcoat was pointed at in repartee ; for, first, he was nominated by the Rev. J. Wesley to be superintendent, some years before. He was the only Englishman eligible for that order, and he was respected by the preachers as much as any man in the Conference.

Of these things Whatcoat appeared not to take the least notice in any way, directly or indirectly. But all the friends to moderate episcopacy perceived what they had to expect ; that the decay of Wesleyan episcopacy was inevitable, if something was not done soon. It was resolved by the friends of that order, that the principle should be openly and fairly discussed.

The question before the house was, "If Francis Asbury's seat as superintendent be vacated by death, or otherwise, was Dr. Coke considered, from the authority he had in the Church, as having a right to take the superintendency, in the same manner as it was exercised by Francis Asbury ?"

The argument was supported for the affirmative by adverting to the acknowledgment offered the day before, of having two bishops ; for one added to one would not make a trinity ; and that Mr. Whatcoat must have been considered as one, who was to make

up the trinity of British bishops ; which was a concession from the opposite side ; so the Conference agreed to call him.

Dr. Coke was then asked if he would be ready to come to the United States, and reside in them, if he were called to take the charge as superintendent, so that there might be a succession from Wesley. He agreed to do so (as soon as he should be able to settle his charge in Europe,) with all pleasure and possible despatch, to come and spend his days in America. The reverend superintendent, Asbury, then reached out his right hand, and in a pathetic speech, the purport of which was—our enemies said we were divided ; but all past grievances were buried ; and “ friends at first are friends at last, and I hope never to be divided.”

The Doctor took his right hand in token of submission, while many present were in tears of joy, to see the happy union in the heads of department, and from a prospect of the Wesleyan episcopacy being like to continue in regular order and succession. This afforded no immediate relief to the superintendent as regarded his labours ; for Dr. Coke was engaged in the support of the Indian Missionaries—they and their families were his care, and they looked to him for supplies, so that he could not come to aid the superintendent : but to supply his place, he had pledged himself to come, if called for by the Conference and necessity.

To assist the superintendent, it was thought good that a preacher should travel with him,—to assist him as he should see fit to employ him ; but he could not employ him as having power to ordain ; and as the Rev. Francis Asbury grew infirm through intense labour and travelling, it became a matter of necessity to have another set apart for the purpose of

ordination, as occasion might demand. Now Whatcoat had been appointed to that order, by Rev. J. Wesley, (as before observed,) and some were of opinion, that his appointment should have been attended to, as the Conference were under obligation to him, at the time of his appointment. This brought him again in nomination by that part of the Conference who thought as the Rev. R. Whatcoat did at the Conference in which the name of Wesley was left off the minutes, and Dr. Coke restricted.

Now one of the leading men of the Conference at that time was the Rev. Jesse Lee, one never very fond of subordination, and much in favour of parity—in verity, no episcopalian, in any significant sense of the word; whereas the Rev. R. Whatcoat was distinguished for submission, and a real follower of Wesley's plan. Time brought them both to be spoken of;—all their excellencies and all their foibles. It was said of Whatcoat, “his passive obedience was the effect of dulness; and his patience and forbearance, the want of understanding or brilliancy of mind.” But his heart was fixed; which made him endure, as seeing Him who is invisible; who, when he was reviled, answered not, but committed all to Him who will judge the world in righteousness. His chief care was to do every thing in the name, and to the glory of the root and offspring of David.

He was stationed in the city of New-York, while he was among the Elders, as pastor of the congregation, where he was much beloved and very useful, as many who are now alive, can well remember his doctrine and manner of life; his sermons bore a great likeness to those of the Reformers of the seventeenth century; “His death the ransom for his own Christ in his own: Christ by his own; His life the pattern; His resurrection and ascension, the proof su-

preme of our immortality;" the gift of the Holy Spirit, the efficient cause of justification or the new birth,—first, it convincingly persuades us of our own vileness, and of the emptiness of all those things that our desires are so eagerly pursuing: and on the other hand, he clearly represents the great excellency of Christ and his ways; that He is the greatest good we can enjoy, and that there is no other way of enjoying Him, but by living and serving Him;—to do this, he makes use of moral persuasion, working upon our reason by cogent and persuasive arguments; and by diffusing such a heavenly sweetness through the heart, as to make it disrelish all those fulsome delights of sin, that would separate us from that infinite good with which sinful pleasures can hold no comparison; so that finding more true delight in God and his ways—more charming and alluring joys than ever before, we are carried forth to them by an altogether free and amorous motion; and this it does by the real and immediate efficacy of the Holy Spirit of God on the will itself: and this operation of the Spirit upon the will is so consistent with the relative liberty of the will, that it would be pain and torment to the soul to be removed from that God whom its understanding apprehends, and its will clasps as its chief and only good; so there are both a moral sensation and a real determination of the will in the work of regeneration; God really terminates it by the efficacious touch of his own grace, whereby he powerfully turns the heart and inclination to Himself; which before stood to sin and vanity: and that this might be no infringement upon the will's prerogative in acting freely,—at the same time He morally persuades it, representing Himself as the best and most satisfying object for all its inclinations to centre in. The excellency of divine grace and the liberty

of man's free will, do fully accord in the work of regeneration; for the freedom of the will doth not consist in its indifference to act or not to act; either to love or fear God, or not to love or fear Him; for, otherwise, the saints and angels in heaven that are under that blessed necessity, that they cannot but love God,—and would not love Him freely? But the liberty of the will consists in the will's acting upon rational grounds, which, by how much stronger the grounds and reasons are that the will acts by, so much the more do they necessitate the will to act. Though an infinite power in regenerating and converting a soul is manifest, yet He useth no violence: He subdueth the will, but doth not compel it. This is that victorious grace that doth no more overcome a sinner's resistance than it doth his prejudices by its attractive touches; so that when a sinner is brought to God, he apprehends by the Holy Spirit, that it is his chief happiness and joy to do so.

This is the nature of regenerating grace; and this same drawing sweetness preserves the regenerate: for through the constant supply of this grace they can do and suffer all things without apostatizing; yet their own freedom is such, that they may, if they will; but how can they will it, if the will is inclined to that which is the most good? and nothing is to the satisfied soul so desirable as the glorious prospect of being favoured with the approbation and presence of the Supreme Ruler of the universe; and the Spirit beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God.

Whatcoat was a living likeness of all he taught others. To sinners he gave direction,—“cease to do evil, learn to do well; hear, read, and think of your latter end.” Sinners ought to pray that their sins might be forgiven, that means were certain con-

ditions in the occasioning of the Gospel, that all who would receive, must follow those directions of the Redeemer; that no one was to expect the peace of God in any other way, but by looking in the perfect law of liberty, and continuing therein—not a forgetful hearer, but a doer of the work; no excuse will do before the Judge. The Antinomians will find fault with God's law, as requiring impossibilities; they likewise object to the conditions of the Gospel, as if they should say, that Christ has no yoke, because it is easy, and so think it not worth while taking up; but the Gospel requireth it to be taken up, therefore it must be borne, and that daily, by all that wish to find rest to their souls.

Such as refuse the conditions of the Gospel are fitly styled the enemies of the cross of Christ, whose glory is their shame; and by taking out license they suit sin to the Antinomian office, and venture to sin against the law of liberty, as also against the moral law; of course their liberty must be of a devilish sort.

The Lord would, that men should have divine liberty in divine ways. Many are without Christian liberty, because they refuse to give themselves to prayer and meditation; reasoning, because they feel not a spirit of devotion, they think it unprofitable and useless. Such are like him that is afflicted with cold, and will not come to the fire, except he be first warm; or like one ready to perish with hunger, and will not ask bread, except he were first satisfied.

Why does a person pray or meditate, but that he may be warmed with the fire of divine love, and be filled with the gifts and grace of the Holy Spirit? Men are mistaken who think the time lost in prayer and meditation, if they are not presently watered with a shower of devotion; if they strive as much as

in them lieth, and do their duty, and are in war continually against their own evil besetments, and are displeased because they depart not, nor suffer themselves to be composed till they find all-sufficient grace given them to prevail. "I will not let thee go, except thou blessest me with a token." Such men are more acceptable than if the heat of devotion had come on them suddenly, and without any such conflict ; because they go to warfare for God at their own expense, and inasmuch as they serve Him with greater pain and labour.

Then sit not still with a discontented mind, while comforts grow before your eyes ; but prevail on God by steady fervent prayer. Christ has his yoke easy, and a burden, though light ; people must come to Him weary and heavy laden, and take His yoke upon them, or never find rest to their souls. If the positive law be not attended to, it must needs follow that every one be lead by his own lust, and the calls of carnal pleasure, to the entire neglect of all that is right, honest, and just, and so despise the rule of life ; and being without fear, and having forsaken the truth, which is in Jesus Christ, because it requireth fidelity ; such heap to themselves wrath against the day of wrath and the revelation of Christ. Whereas every child of the kingdom hath promised to be faithful to the interest of the King of Kings, who hath graciously assured them protection, and that they should lack no good thing who walked uprightly. In this Whatcoat was a bright sample, in doctrine and daily conversation.

"If that which is deepest in the heart is most generally in the mouth ; and that which aboundeth within, rolls most upon the tongue,"—Christ's innocence, his patience, his passion, his death, his resurrection, his ascension, his ever living to make inter-

cession for man,—was what he preached of and talked of, duly appreciating each part, so as to raise the idea of mercy to the highest possible degree of love and praise. God gave his Son to the world, and for the world. To the world as a pattern and sample : for the world a ransom ; “ ye are bought with a price ;” the redemption of the soul is precious ; the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world—the Gospel preached to the world—the atonement ; a kingdom established among men ; the call of Christ for their obedience, a just demand ; and the sure way to make the redemption safe, to comply : giving, on the part of the exalted Prince, and receiving on the part of man is necessary, in order to make the election and calling sure. Christ did not make atonement for the finally impenitent sinner, nor to exempt such from punishment who would not have the Lord to rule over them. The willing and obedient are to eat the good of the land, and to justify the ways of God to man ; to conquer the murmurs and false accusations laid against the throne of God, even by those indecorous spirits who charge their own folly on Infinite Goodness. But Christ will exonerate the sacred throne from all unjust charges by the saints, as it is written in St. Paul, “ the saints shall judge the world ;” to the intent that unto the principalities and powers in heaven might be made known the manifold wisdom of God.” The Gospel is the power of God to salvation ; and by the least in the kingdom, and by the patience of Christ, the power and wisdom of the Supreme Ruler of the universe is made known ; for, as all the conquests and victories of the Old-Testament saints were miraculous, so is the life of every one who daily overcometh the world by faith in Jesus Christ ; His wisdom is manifest, by making wise the simple, His

holiness by giving a habit of righteousness to those who had been accustomed to do evil,—for the hand of Moses was leprous before it wrought miracles—Jericho fell by the sound of a ram's horn—Goliath was slain by a boy—so God doth show the power and certainty of Christ's resurrection, by raising men from a death of sin to a life of righteousness, and by analogy, to raise the body from the grave after a lapse of four thousand years, as after the lapse of four days ; and that He will, in the presence of devils and men, to all his enemies show, (what they affect to deny) that free spirits did obey and serve God with superior delight. The Church of Christ will prove this to the angels that kept not their first estate, but transgressed by refusing to comply with Heaven's just demand ;—" Let all the angels of God worship Him ;" " sit thou on my right hand : " to refuse to comply with supreme command is rebellion. The spirit of rebellion came from the serpent, and infected the first man born in the world : his hatred to the image of righteousness was demonstrated ; he slew his brother because his deeds were righteous ; so all who are of the wicked one hate without a cause, and rebel for rebellion's sake : God's saints obey, because they believe and love. Therefore the saint shall judge the angels, and approve well the the final sentence ;—" Go, ye cursed, where the worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched." The wicked cannot be annihilated ; there is no place to receive them but hell.

Such were the doctrines preached by this worthy presbyter ; it might be expected that truth, urged, from day to day, by one so deeply devoted to God, would be very successful.

The eighteenth century was marked with many wonderful events ; empires rose as in a day. " Gems

as it were, from the concaved ocean ; flowers, born in the desert, were brought to decorate the full city ; yea, the wilderness blossomed like the rose."

The hardy soldier returned from the field of battle, to cut down the lofty pines, and to clime the mountains, in quest of the panther or bear. Some of these were called to sit among princes ; yea, to teach men the way to salvation, by pointing to the Lamb of God as able to take away sin, and renew in righteousness.

Whatcoat's preaching was calculated to give noble ideas to such as were in the low walk of life, by setting forth the original state of man : made after the image of his Creator. In the other parts of the creation, traits of His power do evidently appear ; but in man, his power and wisdom—his form—his intellectual mind ! spiritual, simple, and immortal, free in its choice ; in the body, resemblance of majesty, in the qualities of his knowledge, righteousness, and holiness—in his happy state a confluence of all inward and outward bliss—as the creature resembled Him, so were they dignified and happy ; and to contrast this with their present state, by nature, must lay a reasonable foundation for repentance ; for, on being made sensible of former greatness and present degeneracy, man can but lament his fall, and rejoice when he hears and understands that the Holy Spirit is come to regenerate, and bring him back to Him whose image he has lost ; and, that forasmuch as the image of God may be regained, they who neglect themselves, despise His image, and blast all excellency, as far as they can, by defiling their bodies, which should be the temples of God ; and they who defile the temple of God, them will God destroy !

The children of Cush came also to the preacher, and said, " pray for us !" Now they had been neg-

lected, as though they had neither part nor lot in the matter ; they had long lain among the pots, and had slept on the ground ; but now the Gospel, which is the power of God, did stir them up ; their light did come, and the glory of the Lord did rise upon them ; and of these stones did the supreme Ruler of the universe raise children to Christ. They became members of the Church, good, trusty servants, praying men, leading others on in the ways of righteousness, deeply experienced in grace, and the gifts of the Holy Spirit ; so that at one table seven or eight hundred slaves have taken the Lord's Supper regularly once a month ; and judged fit subjects of that ordinance in the Church. Of which when the honoured man was informed, he rejoiced, and wrote as follows,

London, Nov. 26, 1789.

“ Dear Brother,

“ A glorious work, indeed, God has been working for several years, and is still working in America.

“ But one thing has often given me concern ; God is visiting the progeny of Japhat, (the English) who now dwell in the tents of Shem, according to the prophecy of Noah, nay, does visit the servile progeny of Ham, by claiming them by purchase of His blood !

“ In the mean time, the progeny of Shem, the Indian, seem to be quite forgotten ! How few of them have seen the light of the Gospel, or glory of God, since the English first settled among them ; and now scarcely one of fifty among whom we settled, perhaps scarcely one out of an hundred, are alive ! Doth it seem as if God designed all the Indian nations not for reformation, but destruction ?

How many millions of them in South and North America, have already died in their sins? will neither God nor man have compassion on this outcast set of men? Undoubtedly with man it is impossible to help them, but it is not so with God! O that He would raise and maintain His own cause; that He would first stir up the hearts of some of His children, to make the conversion of the heathens a matter of solemn prayer; and that eternal Providence (exceeding thought!) when none appears, will make itself a way. ‘Pray ye, likewise, the Lord of the harvest, that He will send out more labourers into the harvest.’

“But beware you do not grudge two or three out of a hundred, to help your northern brethren:* it is enough that we send two to your one, considering the enormous expense; but let us do all that we can, and we do enough. And see that no coldness ever creep in between you and

“Your affectionate friend and brother,

“J. WESLEY.”

It was impossible to ride or walk from England to Nova Scotia, or expense would not have been thought of, for the sons of Wesley ever showed a willingness of mind to bear any bodily privation, to suffer and labour night and day in the cause of Christ. The Revolutionary war had drained the treasure of both countries, so money was very scarce, and charity scarcer; the strife had not yet ceased; party opinion and party animosity were still alive in

* No preacher had gone to Canada at that time. The first who visited Canada, went the summer following from Long Island; spent about eight months, and returned with a petition signed by about a hundred heads of families, praying to be supplied with two preachers from the New-York Conference.

many neighbourhoods ; a man of peace was rare. Time had not erased from the minds of men the grievances and wrongs done to each other in their turn ; when one party was up, another was down ; iniquity had abounded and spread ; the seed sown by Whitfield and the celebrated Davenport, and the zealous Tennants was rarely to be found ; the itinerating plan, that was begun by them, had grown over with thorns and briars ; meeting houses were left to the bats and owls, and praying families were hardly known.

Men of dignified stations were at their farms, merchandise, or speculating in lands, to the ruin of their incautious friends—at the race, or the tipping house !

But in the midst of darkness, and where iniquity came in like a flood, the Spirit of the Lord raised up a standard : some holy men were graciously called forth to urge a reformation, and call sinners to repentance. These offered themselves willingly to go on the glorious errand ; but some one skilled in the way was necessary to instruct them, in the wisdom of winning souls to Christ, seeing it is possible for want of knowledge to defeat the most noble design. Such an one they had in Whatcoat ; he was wise and harmless ; he had gone on the same errand under Wesley, without giving just cause of offence himself, or taking any at the weakness of men. His presence animated the young men who resorted to him. When their hands began to hang down, and their knees to grow feeble, the hope of meeting him at the Quarterly Meetings, made the lonely woods, and even the mountains of Alleghany to smile, knowing him to be an experienced messenger of God. The remembrance of his face, tanned by many summers' sun, and his hands, made feeble by

so many winters' frost, while he had been tending to the flock, and heard him say, "God's service is perfect freedom," made the young men blush for ever having felt a murmur to rise in them, and a holy shame for having been ready to halt, or wish their suffering less : but, encouraged by this servant of God, they hasted from the bleak mountains to the creeping rivers or stagnant pools, there to breathe the fog of death over swampy meadows ; and after a tour of many months in these dominions of death, to climb the steep mountain in search of lost souls ;

"Lost and scattered wide in pain, weariness, and want,
With no kind shepherd near, to guide the spiritless and faint."

From whence they wrote, if opportunity served : of their success as their letters witness.

"Reverend and dear Father,

"You recollect that my last request, when I left you, was, that you would pray for poor Alleghany. I presume that you did not forget that request, as it was made impressively, and because I have had the happiness of seeing and feeling a most glorious work among us since then in this circuit.

"A most glorious work of religion commenced, and is still going on at Creesup-town, and at L. Martin, Esq.'s, and in many other parts of Alleghany ; we have times of great power from on high, so that about eighty souls have found the Lord in our neighbourhood, within about the space of six months. This work appears altogether unmixed ; no discord, seldom a loud shout, but much prayer, with an agonizing spirit always, and many tears, and deep solemnity and awe in the presence of God. I have seen the most vile sinners impressed with a conscious

awe by the presence of the Lord, their countenances demonstrating the terror and amazement they felt.

“I am your’s in the bond of peace and love,
“S. J. JACOBS.”

Itinerating was called creeping into houses, and leading silly people. Truly it might be called creeping into houses innocently, if it were meant to say, some huts were so low that a man could not get in without stooping; but to lead the people astray, could not be applied, for they were all gone out of the way; none sought after God—no, not one. The itinerant made many rich; but seldom added any thing to his own interest, frequently begging his way, often in want and peril, and cast down, though not forsaken.

If the Methodist preachers could remember minutely all their difficulties and dangers, they would say truly, “the everlasting arms were underneath to support them” while they passed through the dangers, fatigues, and reproach of those times, and the slander of those who should have comforted them. It is much more agreeable to human nature to be counted a wise devil than a religious fool! between the multitude and the woods they improved their time, urging the necessity of preparing to meet their God, alleging that he will soon fix the permanent dwelling of the just and unjust.

“Where shall I find my resting place?
I must my everlasting day
With fiends or angels spend!”

At a general Conference in 1800, a resolution passed to strengthen the episcopacy, by adding a third. There were two principal candidates in nomination.

But such as thought correctly, perceived it could not be strengthened, if one should be joined to it who was not convinced that such an order was apostolic. He would see no necessity to submit to such an ordination, nor to defend it, if he thought it not divine, any more than one would to pray fervently and devoutly for the dead while he did not think purgatory a doctrine of the Bible. A man who did not believe in three orders in the ministry, would weaken the episcopacy. Such was one of the nominated, as may be seen by the Memoirs of the Rev. Jesse Lee.

Richard Whatcoat had thought it an honour to be ordained a deacon, as St. Stephen was; and an Elder as the seventy; and had magnified both orders, and was a warm advocate for the third, esteeming it not an office taken at pleasure (as that of Moderator) by the Elders, but an order of God. His submission proved this; for he was an older minister than either of the other two superintendents, yet he served in his appointments as a son in the Gospel, till he was elected to the order of superintendent by his brethren in America, according to Mr. Wesley's desire, though several years had elapsed, and his father Wesley was no more to be found in this world.

“ To patient faith the prize is sure,
And all that to the end endure
The cross, shall wear the crown.”

At the Conference in 1800 he was elected and consecrated to a third order in the Church. At that Conference two hundred people were turned from darkness to light in Baltimore. The Elders found no difficulty in promising to obey those who

had the rule over them ; and to follow their example, while they had such a pattern before their eyes.

“For he was a living likeness of the living stone.”

His conduct bore witness that he was such by so many external characteristics which bad men could not counterfeit, and no good man could so much as suspect. But it has been asked, is such an order as a bishop needed in a plan so simple—an overseer among devoted and laborious men ?

In all departments where men are engaged to operate in one interest, there must be one head, who is vested with more power than ordinary—though not sole power, yet a greater portion, as directed by Christ himself, “he that is least among you, let him be your chief ;” and truly Whatcoat could say, *“Thou hast also given me the shield of thy salvation ; and thy right hand hath holden me up, and thy meekness hath made me great. Thou hast enlarged my steps under me, and my feet did not slip.”* A man of God, thoroughly furnished, but no partizan ; not taken at the spur of the moment, under the influence of some disgust ; one of an excellent spirit, one seasoned without being checked ; sound in faith ; one in whom all the graces of the Holy Spirit appeared ; he is to lead out and call in all the officers in the army of the Captain of our salvation ; to review them ; and with suitable words, to encourage and strengthen them ; to examine them one by one, by putting questions of this kind :—“Brother, art thou so fully persuaded of a perfect state of happiness, as to make it thy constant aim and pursuit ? Art thou determined through grace, never to tire, or slacken thy labour, till thou mayst arrive at the enjoyment of full reward ? Hast thou a hope and expectation from the precious promises of the Gospel which thou preachest to others ? Art thou daily endeavouring

through grace to cleanse thyself from all filthiness of flesh and spirit? Art thou perfecting holiness in the fear of God? Dost thou obtain victory over thy spiritual enemies? Dost thou maintain a pious conflict against all the opposition met with in thy way? Dost thou endeavour to suppress every rising passion—pride, wrath, and such corrupt inclination as would render thee unfit for the holy and heavenly world? Is thy heart daily more mortified to the world and the enjoyments of the flesh, and such pleasure as is not known in heaven? Is thy heart weaned from the delight of animal life? Art thou dead to the temptation of gold and grandeur, so as to view the things of this life with a holy indifference, as one possessed of a more exalted hope? Hast thou found the labour and suffering of thy state in this life useful to preserve thee for the blessed state of the just men made perfect? Dost thou think the divine image is impressed on thy heart by the renewing of the Holy Ghost? Art thou striving to imitate those who, through faith and patience, have gone before thee? Dost thou walk in the wilderness, as going to thy Father's house? Dost thou sigh and groan after complete pardon for thy sin? Dost thou employ thy time with pleasure in the service of God? Dost thou love the people of thy charge, and delight to be in their company, though they may be despised by men of the world? Dost thou make their sorrows like thine own in some sense, and take sweet satisfaction of soul when they increase in the peace and joy of the Holy Ghost? Art thou still able and willing to go into the Lord's harvest another year, and labour among the poor, without any security for thy support but what is to be drawn from the promises of Jesus Christ?" *He is Lord of all!*

With fatherly instructions, and with the benedictions of the good man, being animated with his presence, they set forward to spend another year in that place where, by direction of divine Providence, he was directed to appoint them : a power much found fault with, but never abused by Whatcoat, nor used but to the glory of God, and the good of the Church—no, not in one single instance during his episcopal charge. Praise to whom praise is due ; honour, to whom honour is due. Power must be lodged somewhere ; and he who useth it well, shall receive well of his Lord ; but when it is used to discourage the servants of God, and drive them into corners, and from the house of the Lord, the Lord of that servant will reckon with him himself.

He had performed a tour through the societies in the States. He had finished his sixth tour through the work after his consécration, or near that ; he had a piece of skin rubbed off his leg, according to his journal, and by travelling and exposing himself, it inflamed ; several things were applied, it seems, without effect ; a wash of sugar of lead was used ; but the inflammation went to the regions of the kidneys ; and after great suffering he got an honourable discharge from the Captain of his salvation, and by his permission came in from his post which he had faithfully kept for fifty years. Among his manuscripts was kept a verse, said to be the last made by Rev. Charles Wesley, in the eighty-eighth year of his age.

“ In age, and feebleness extreme,
Thou canst a helpless worm redeem ;
O let me catch one glimpse of Thee !
And drop into eternity.”

Bishop Whatcoat departed this life at Governor Bassett's house, among the wise and great ; in his

death he showed how a Christian could die. Many saw him in his severe affliction and extreme pain, which he bore for thirteen weeks without murmuring or complaining. They saw that he was privileged far above the common walk of virtuous life, his mind being in heaven before it got its discharge from the body ; his heavenly admonition is still fresh in the minds of some who are in the world as witnesses of his victory over the fear of death, on the 5th of June, 1806.

The death of a saint is precious ; it should be noted as a proof of our immortality, and a demonstration of the truth of Revelation. Enoch walked with God, and God took him. The blessed Jesus taught us the will of God, and bore witness to the truth of his doctrine by his last sayings ; “ weep not for me, but weep for yourselves ; Father, into Thy hands I commit my Spirit :” having said this, he gave up the ghost.

St. Stephen’s dying words make part of the Book of God, and will have a place there when the world is on fire, and the elements melt with fervent heat. The last words of John Wesley were, “ Jesus died for me ; God is with us.” —So said Whatcoat.

We will draw near to the tomb of the just, and look up to the holy hill where Jesus Christ lives with his own, and leads them to rivers of delight.

“ Christian reader, though sin be entered into the world, and death by sin, so death hath passed upon all men, for all have sinned : yet it seems not wholly suitable to the Christian hope, to stand by and see the grave with open mouth, take in and swallow down any part of a precious saint, and not bear testimony against the devourer ; and yet, that our testimony may be in righteousness, we must first own and acknowledge, and accept of that good and ser-

viceableness which is in itself. For through the death and resurrection of our Lord and Redeemer, Jesus Christ, death and the grave are become sweetened to us, and sanctified for us ; so that death is but a sleep, and the grave, through Christ's lying down in it and rising again, is become a bed of repose to those that are in Him, a safe and quiet hiding place for His saints till the resurrection.

In this respect, we, for ourselves and our dearly beloved in the Lord, accept of thee, O grave, and deliver up his body to thee ! It is a body that has been weakened and wearied with long labour and severe pain. We give it to thee—receive it ; and let it have in thee rest from all its labours ; for it is written of thee, “there the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest.” Besides, O grave ! this is a body that has been sweetly embalmed by a virtuous, pious, and peaceable conversation, and by several openings and out-pourings of the Spirit of life, by much patience and meekness in strong trials and afflictions. Let it enjoy in thee what was deeply impressed with his tongue, A SABBATH, for Christ kept his last Sabbath in the grave. But we know thee, O grave, to be a devourer, and still we deliver up the body freely to thee ; there was in it corruption, dishonour, and weakness ; take them as thy property, they belong to thee, and we would not hold them from thee ; freely swallow them up for ever, that they may not appear any more. Yet know, O grave ! that there is in that body, considered as one united to such, a soul, a divine relation to the Lord of life and glory, and that thou must not, cannot, dissolve or destroy ! But know, O grave ! that it is written, “that there is a

time hastening, when this body shall return from thee incorruptible, in honour and power.

It is sown in weakness, we expect it again in power ; it is sown into thee in dishonour, we expect it again in glory ! It is sown a natural body, we look for it again from thee a spiritual body !

And when thou hast fulfilled that end for which the Prince of life took thee captive, and made thee to serve, then shalt thou, who hast devoured, be thyself also swallowed up ; for it is written, “ O death, I will be thy plague ; O grave, I will be thy destruction.”

At the place of his tomb, (Wesley Chapel in Dover,) Bishop Asbury made some funeral observations upon the death of Richard Whatcoat, his faithful colleague, in which he remarked, “ That he had known Richard Whatcoat, from his own age of 14 to 62 years, most intimately, and had tried him most accurately, in the soundness of his faith, in the doctrine of universal depravity, and the complete and general atonement. The insufficiency of either moral or ceremonial righteousness for justification, in opposition to faith alone in the merit and righteousness of Christ. The doctrine of regeneration and sanctification ; his holy manner of life, in duty, at all times, in all places, and before all people, as a Christian, and as a Minister ; his long suffering, a man of great affliction of body and mind ; having been exercised with severe diseases and great labours ; but this did not abate his charity, his love of God and man, in all its effects, tempers, words, and actions ; bearing with resignation and patience great temptations, bodily labours, and inexpressible pain. In life and death, placid and calm ; as he lived so he died.”

How wonderful is man!—a worm, a God! Such extremes can only be accounted for by a thorough knowledge of *imputed sin*, and *imputed righteousness*. As—when a man has broken the laws of his country, and is fined, or imprisoned, or put to public shame, or death, or is condemned to fines or imprisonments, to the pillory or the gallows, it is plain that sin is imputed to him, his wickedness is upon him, and he bears his own iniquities; that is, he is liable to, or obliged to bear the punishment, or he is actually punished.

On the other hand, if a righteous, or innocent man, is falsely accused of any crime, and he is acquitted by the court, the default is not found in him, he is pronounced innocent, and treated as such, or as a righteous man; his righteousness is upon him.

Or if a reward be either assigned, or actually given to a man according to law, upon the account of any righteous or good action he has done, this act of virtue or goodness is imputed to him, and his righteousness is upon him; he is dealt with as a righteous and deserving person; the reward of righteousness is given him.

If a man has been guilty of a crime which deserves capital punishment, but the punishment is remitted by the mercy of the King, upon the repentance of the criminal, at the intercession of a friend, he is entirely pardoned, then sin is not imputed to him; he is justified from the crime, and righteousness is imputed to him by the free pardon of the King; that is, he is not condemned, but absolved. He is not liable to punishment now, but has a right to impunity and life; he is dealt with as a righteous person, or as though he had not transgressed.

Or suppose a man has been guilty of treason, and his estate is taken away from him and his children

for ever, then the sin of the father is not imputed to the father only, but to the children also ; that is, they bear the iniquity of their father ; his punishment is laid upon them ; they suffer for their father's sin or crime, and that in their following generations, even to the latest posterity ; they are exposed to poverty and hardships for the treason of their ancestors ; and this sin is imputed to them, as well as to him. Or, if any man practise obedience, and righteousness, in an eminent or illustrious manner, and he, together with his posterity, are dignified and rewarded on account of that eminent obedience, then this obedience and righteousness of the father is imputed to the children ; *his* righteousness is upon them ; that is, they are dealt with as though they had been eminently righteous and obedient, upon account of what their father was, and did.

Now, if among the histories of nations we have any transactions of this kind recorded by ancient writers, do we not easily understand what these writings say ? Is not their meaning plain and intelligible ? Should we stand long, debating and cavilling, whether such things were possible or not ? Is not the sense easy to common readers ? Then why should we think these same sort of things, or phrases, in matters of religion, so dark, and so difficult, as to need high comments, and quarrelsome folios to explain them ? Why should we not agree in the plain meaning of them, when we meet with such phrases among the sacred writings ? And when we find such representation made to us in the things that relate to God and man, sin and righteousness, in the books that teach us the way of salvation, why should we not receive them in their plain common sense, without contending about them ?

The chief difficulty in adjusting our common ideas

in any of these cases, seems to be this : how can the particular act of treason of a parent be imputed to a child ? especially in his infancy, though it is granted that he suffers banishment and poverty for the sake of his father's treason ? How can these particular criminal actions be imputed to him, since this infant was never capable of committing those acts of treason, they being quite out of the reach of a child, and impossible for him to commit them ? Or how can those eminent and illustrious acts of obedience or righteousness which were performed by the father, be imputed to a child, if that child never stood either under a direct obligation, nor had a capacity to perform those very actions and services ?

Answer 1. Those acts of treason, or acts of service, by every plain and common form and figure of speech, are said to be imputed to the children, or to be upon them, when they suffer, or enjoy the obvious and legal consequences of their father's treason, or eminent services ; taken in the gross and comprehensive view of them, they are criminal or meritorious, though the particular actions and circumstances of the treason, or of those services, could never have been practised by the children, at least in their minority. This would give no difficulty to the reader, who would peruse these human histories, and read such narratives in them : and why should it give us any difficulty, when we read this divine account of things in the holy writings, or in human discourse on divine subjects ?

Answer 2. The words sin, and righteousness, may be taken in common authors, as they are taken in Scripture, in two senses. Sin, or iniquity, signifies either the particular act of disobedience to the law, or it signifies the legal result of those disobedient

acts, that is, the guilt or the liableness to condemnation, and obligation to bear punishment, which arises from those acts of disobedience, according to the law. And thus, when we say the sin or iniquity of the father is imputed to the children of a traitor, who never were or could be precisely in their father's situation or circumstances, we do not mean that every single evil act of the father is charged upon the child, as if the child had done it; but that the guilt or liableness to punishment, which arises from the acts of the father, is so transplanted, or imputed to the child, that the child suffers banishment, or poverty, for the sake of it; and this, according to the law and custom of nations, is esteemed just and righteous.

In like manner, righteousness is taken in two senses: it either signifies the particular act of obedience to any law or command of a superior, or it signifies the result of those actions, that is, a right to impunity, a freedom from punishment, and a right to life, or liberty, or honour, or reward, which belonged by the law to such act of obedience. And so when we say the righteousness of a father is imputed to the child of a person who has performed some eminent act of service or obedience, we do not mean that all those acts and circumstances of the father's service or obedience, are minutely and particularly imputed to the child, but the general result of those acts, that is, the rectitude, in court, or right of impunity, and reward, which is the result of the father's performance, is imputed to the child.

Now if we would try to explain every text of Scripture wherein imputed sin or imputed righteousness is mentioned in the word of God, either in express words, or in the plain sense and meaning of them, I am persuaded we should find them all easy

and intelligible, and free from cavils and controversies.

Forasmuch as the holy Scriptures were written for the common use of mankind, and their meaning is obvious and plain; why should we rack every syllable, and put every expression to the torture, to make it confess what we have a mind to have it speak, according to the different portions under which we enlist ourselves?

If we consider that account which Scripture gives of all mankind falling under sin, and the legal or penal consequences thereof by the sin of Adam, or if we consider Christ's taking upon himself the sins of men, bearing their sins, and suffering for them as a surety or sacrifice; or if we consider the righteousness imputed to those that believe, or even righteousness or obedience imputed to penitent believers, I think we should find no great difficulty to adjust our ideas of these things, if we would but suffer ourselves to form our sentiments of these matters by plain, natural, and common expressions and ideas of men about these subjects, and in a candid manner receive the obvious meaning of such language, in order to confirm what is here stated. Let it be remembered, that there are several such histories in the Bible, wherein instances of the like kind among the transactions of men are delivered to us in such sort of expressions, or words of the same import.

Abraham's eminent obedience to God, in bringing his son Isaac to the altar, was rewarded, not only by a blessing to Abraham himself, but to his seed. Gen. xxii. 16, &c. *Thy seed shall possess the gate of his enemies, and in thy seed shall all nations of the earth be blessed, because thou hast obeyed my voice.*

Here it may be said Abraham's obedience, at least

in the result and consequence of it, is imputed to his seed.

This same promise is repeated again to Isaac, and assigned to his posterity, for the sake of Abraham's eminent piety and obedience. Gen. xxvi. 4, 5. *I will perform the oath that I swore unto Abraham thy Father, and I will make thy seed to multiply as the stars of heaven, and I will give unto thy seed all these countries, because that Abraham obeyed my voice, and kept my charge, my statutes, and my laws.* Abraham's righteousness was thus imputed to Isaac and his seed.

Phinehas, the son of Eleazer, was zealous for the Lord among the children of Israel, and God gave him and his seed after him, the covenant of an everlasting priesthood, because he was zealous for his God, and slew the criminals in Israel. Numb. xxv. 11. This eminent act of righteousness was so fully imputed to his children, that they received the reward of it, as well as himself.

Achan, who had stolen the golden wedge, with the Babylonian garment, from among the spoils of Jericho, provoked the Lord to anger ; and his crime, by the appointment of God, was so far imputed to his children, that they were all stoned for the same crime. The guilt or punishment of it was imputed to the children, together with the father. Josh. vii. 24.

The falsehood and covetousness of Gehazi were imputed to his posterity—2 Kings, v. 25 ; when God, by the mouth of his prophet, pronounced that leprosy should cleave unto him and his seed for ever.

Many other instances of this kind might be collected from the sacred writings, to show us how persons may not only have their own sins or their own righteousness imputed to them, in the punishment or rewards they receive, but other persons also may have that sin or righteousness imputed to them ; that

is, they may fall under condemnation and punishment, or have a right to impunity, and a reward, by a wise and holy constitution, upon the account of the crime, or obedience of their forefathers.

It is not my business and design in this place to justify at large the conduct of Providence in these instances, but only to represent the actual facts, and show very easy and intelligible what these sort of representations are, and that they would afford no difficulty to the reader, nor occasion any controversy to an honest mind, if not under any former prejudice or bias.

It is evident that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments use the words *sin* and *iniquity*, to signify not only the criminal actions themselves, but also sometimes they signify the *legal result* and consequences of these actions; that is, the guilt, or liability to punishment, and sometimes the punishment itself, whether it fall upon the original criminal, or upon others for his sake, or upon his account.

In the same manner, the Scripture uses the word *righteousness*, to signify that right to impunity, that rectitude in court, that justification, or that right to reward, which is the result of those acts of piety and obedience, as well as to signify the particular acts of obedience and piety themselves: a moderate study of some of those texts of Scripture will convince us. I will call the attentive reader to a few texts to our point:—Job xxxiii. 26—*God will render to a man his righteousness*; that is, not the very righteous actions, but the proper result of them, or those blessed fruits of righteousness. Psalm xxiv. 5—*He shall receive the blessing from the Lord, and righteousness from the God of his salvation*; that is, the reward of righteousness. Hosea x. 12—*Sow in righteousness*; that is, in and by action of purity and

goodness: *till the Lord come and rain down righteousness*; that is, till he pours down on you the rewards or fruits of piety. So a work, whether good or evil, is put for the *reward* of it. Job iv. 1—*The work of man will be rendered unto him*; that is, the recompense or fruits of his work. So the word *iniquity* is used to signify the punishment of it. Hosea xii. 13—*Ye have plowed wickedness, ye have reaped iniquity*; that is, the punishment that it deserves. So St. Paul desires Philemon to impute any wrong he had received from Onesimus, to himself, not the evil action, but the damage he had sustained.

And upon this account, when sin or righteousness is said to be imputed to any man upon the account of the works of righteousness or sin which he himself has done, then these words perhaps may denote the good or evil actions themselves, together with the results of them in guilt and condemnation, or the legal rectitude of them in absolution and justification. But when the sinful or righteous actions of one person are so imputed to another, as to bring punishment or reward upon that other, then generally, the words imputed sin and imputed righteousness, the legal and forensic result of these sinful or righteous actions, is an obligation or liableness to punishment on one side, or a right to impunity, and the reward, on the other.

It may be granted, if one man commit murder, and three other men contrived or encouraged, aided or abetted the murderer in the commission of the crime, perhaps the action of murder, as well as the legal penalties of it, may be in a single man, although they are all actual sharers in the fact: but this is not the case in the Scripture imputations we are speaking of; therefore, it is only guilt or penalty that is imputed, or transferred.

Some persons may be ready to inquire—how can the guilt of sin or the condemnation for it be justly imputed or transferred from one to another? Or how can the legal rectitude, that is, the right to impunity and life, or the righteousness of one be imputed to another, without the righteous actions themselves being imputed?

The very same just constitution or law, whether human or divine, by which the actions could be imputed, is sufficient for the imputation of the legal result of those actions, and that with as much justice. I might say, with much more justice in many cases, may the legal result or punishment of sinful actions be imputed to others, or transferred to them, than the actions themselves; for the imputation of an evil action to an innocent person, if it could be done, would carry more of crime, and blame, and shame, and of personal defilement and demerit in it, than the mere imputation of their guilt; that is, a liahness to condemnation and punishment. And when the punishment is transferred to others, then the sin or guilt is said to be imputed to them.

But, some may say, may not the sinful action of the father be imputed to his posterity, since the children were in the father naturally when he committed those sins? Is not Levi said to pay tithes on Abraham, (Heb. vii. 9,) because he was yet in the loir of his great-grandfather when he paid tithes to Melchisadeck? The apostle expresses it not as a matter of strict reasoning, because he adds the words “as I may say so,” to intimate it is rather an allusion or emblem.

Now if there could be supposed any advantage by this natural inbeing of all men in Adam, to support the imputation, yet there can be no necessity of it; for Christ was not naturally in us, though our

sins were imputed to him. This imputation of sin, therefore, to the one or the other, signifies only the transferring the guilt or condemnation or punishment, and not the imputation of the same evil action, or the transferring them from Adam to us, or from us to our blessed Saviour.

It is also argued, by those who would prove the good or evil *actions* themselves, *imputed*, as some have supposed, may arise from the strong expressions of Scripture, especially Rom. xv. where is so particular a comparison between our being made sinners by the disobedience of Adam, and our being made or constituted righteous by the obedience of Christ. The Jewish and all the Eastern writers deal in very strong expressions and figures to signify plain and obvious things; and therefore there is some allowance to be made in the application of them when we reduce them to plain language. And besides, as Adam was the head and spring, not only of our guilt and death by imputation, and of our inherent sin by natural propagation also; so Christ was the head and spring not only of our justification and life by his imputed righteousness, but of our inherent holiness or sanctification; and perhaps the strength of St. Paul's expressions may mean all this. But if only the *result* of their good or evil actions were imputed to us, those strong expressions might be used. When all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all their transgressions in all their sins, are confessed over the head of the goat, while Aaron lays both hands upon it, and he is said to put or transfer them all upon the head of the goat, and that the goat should bear upon him all their iniquities into the wilderness, or a land of separation, (Lev. xvi. 21;) all these words can signify nothing more than transferring to the goat the guilt or punishment, misery, and

death, which these sins deserved, and to which the goat might be exposed ; for a brute creature cannot have human sins any otherwise imputed or transferred to it : the peculiar sinful actions of man cannot be transferred to the brutal sacrifice in any other sense ; nor do I see a necessity of any other sense in which the sins of Adam were imputed to his posterity, or the sins of man to the Son of God.

If we would keep our ideas as clear of these things as possible, I think we may do it by virtue of this distinction, or this two-fold sense of the words sin, and righteousness. It is possible some may object, and say that it cannot properly be called imputed righteousness, if the righteous actions themselves are not imputed ; for in proper such is the result of Christ's righteousness, that is, the right to impunity and eternal life which he procured for us, is given, rather than imputed. To this I answer and grant, that this is the very language of Scripture. It is called the gift of righteousness, (Rom. x. 7.) Eternal life (which is the result of Christ's righteousness) is the gift of God through Jesus Christ, (Rom. vi. 23 ;) and the forgiveness of sins is given to Israel. (Acts v. 31.) Yet let it be observed also, that the very reward itself is said to be reckoned or imputed in Scripture. (Rom. iv. 4.)

The Scripture does not, as I remember, any where in express words assert that the very sin of Adam is imputed to his children, or that the very sins of mankind, or of believers were imputed to Christ, or that the very righteousness of Christ is imputed to believers ; yet I think that the sure and true meaning of all these expressions is sufficiently found in several places in Scripture : as, Isaiah liii. ; Jer. xxiii. 6—*The Lord our righteousness* ; Dan. ix. 24 ; Rom. v. 12—19 ; 1 Cor. xv. 8, 21, 22 ; Gal. iii. 13 ; Eph.

i. 7 ; Phil. iii. 9 ; Col. i. 14, 20 ; Heb. ix. 14, 26 ; 1 Peter ii. 24 ; 1 John i. 7 ; Revel. i. 5, v. 9.

When we say the sin of Adam is imputed to all his posterity, can we possibly believe every motion of Adam's eye or his heart towards the forbidden fruit, with every evil thought of unbelief of the threatening, or every work of ingratitude towards God in his mind, or pride in his heart, together with the action of eating this fruit at his wife's request, is particularly imputed to all his infant posterity ? Can these criminal thoughts be imputed to them who never were under any temptation nor capacity of tasting that fruit, or of breaking that particular law of God ? Must we not necessarily, therefore, mean, that it is the guilt of Adam in that sin, and his liability to condemnation and punishment, to misery and death, is imputed or transferred to his posterity ? Imputation of sin in this case, signifies the imputation or transposing of the legal or penal consequences of sin ; that is, misery and death.

It is evident in many places of Scripture, that our sins were imputed to our blessed Saviour, when *Christ bore the sins of many*, when he was made sin for us ; that is, *a sin offering when the Lord pleased to bruise him*, and put him to grief, and made his soul an offering for sin ; but I think it can never mean any more than this, that he was a proper sacrifice of atonement or expiation for those sins, by bearing sorrow and punishment, and death upon that account, which were the legal result of our sins, in order to deliver us from them. So when we say, the righteousness of Christ is imputed to believers, I think it can never mean that every particular righteous action of Christ, as he was a holy observer of the law, a preacher of the gospel, a master of a family, or a worker of miracles, can be imputed to

women or children, who were never called to any such office, or to perform those actions ; nor can his sufferings of circumcision, or his celebrating Jewish festivals in the temple among the males of the house of Israel, be minutely and particularly imputed to Gentile Christians, both male and female, who never were under the command of circumcision, or who would have sinned in practising Jewish ceremonies. And therefore the righteousness of Christ, when it is said to be imputed to believers, can mean no more than that the legal *result* of his righteous acts, or acts of obedience to God, is imputed to them, or bestowed upon them. This *gift of righteousness*, therefore, is a right to impunity, a legal rectitude in the court of God, an absolution from sin, and punishment, a pardon of sin, and justification in the sight of God, and a right to eternal life, which are conferred upon them for the sake of what Christ has done and suffered.

The satisfaction of Christ, is the recompense which he made to God for our breach of his law ! His merit, in its most natural sense, signifies *his* proper desert and worthiness of all those divine honours and blessings, which were his own *personal*, as well as that pardon of sin and eternal life which he obtained for us ; and this merit and satisfaction arises from the transcendent value and dignity of the person of Christ. Surely this satisfaction cannot be imputed to us properly, lest we should be said to have satisfied and made God a recompense for our sins. His merit cannot be imputed to us, in a strict sense, for that would make us meriters, either of such peculiar glories as *he* had, or at least of our pardon of sin, and eternal life.

But if we sink the sense of the word merit so as to mean nothing but those blessings of pardon, grace,

and eternal life, which Christ has merited for us, or the legal right of true believers to those blessings, according to the covenant of grace, then the praise of his merits imputed, may be used without offence or error. It is the explaining this doctrine of imputed sin and imputed righteousness, so as to include all the particular acts of sin and righteousness, with their proper merit and demerit, that has tempted so many persons to deny the doctrine itself.

If it should be allowed that the very act of Adam's disobedience was imputed to all his posterity ; if the same sinful acts of men could be imputed to Christ ; if the very action of Christ's obedience and righteousness could be imputed to believers ; what greater punishment could the one justly and reasonably suffer ? or what blessing could the other reasonably be entitled to, or enjoy, beyond what Scripture has assigned, either to mankind, as the result of the sin of Adam ? or to Christ, as the result of the sins of men ? or to believers, as the result of the righteousness of Christ ?

“Unto Him that loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood, and hath made us kings and priests unto God and his Father : to Him be glory and dominion for ever and ever.—AMEN.”

THE END.

